COLLECTANEA

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SECOND SERIES

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: Donne and Webster

The Bacon-Shakespeare Question

By *CHARLES CRAWFORD*

AT THE SHAKESPEARE HEAD PRESS
STRATFORD-ON-AVON
1907

Printed at the Shakespeare Head Press,

Stratford-on-Avon.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The two following essays are reprinted from *Notes & Queries*. In my preface to *Collectanea*, First Series, I have already acknowledged my indebtedness to Mr. Joseph Knight.

CHARLES CRAWFORD.

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Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: Donne and Webster

THE following pages are intended principally to show the influence of Florio's translation of the essays of Montaigne on Webster in the composition of *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, and therefore are really a continuation of the paper on Sir Philip Sidney and Webster (*Collectanea*, First Series, pp. 20-46). But on account of the repetition of certain matter in *The White Devil* that had appeared previously in Marston's *The Fawn*, I have had to turn aside and examine the latter play, because it is assumed that Webster copied Marston. My inquiries have been rewarded with a larger measure of success than I could have hoped for, and now I am in a position to prove that not only did Webster and Marston obtain the repeated matter, independently of each other, from Montaigne, but that both dramatists are under a very heavy debt of obligation to Florio's translation of the essays.

As regards Dr. Donne, I rely upon his evidence to fix a nearer date for *The Duchess of Malfi* than has as yet been claimed for it with any show of probability.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

I take no delight in proving that Webster was a wholesale borrower of the good things in other men's work, and could wish that my present task were confined to showing up the plagiary of Marston or of some other author whose work I am too dull to appreciate at its proper value. Webster generally puts what he borrows to noble uses; but Marston is one of those men of whom Ben Jonson said "that they are born only to suck out the poison of books." If Webster sows vice, he sows it with the hand, but Marston scatters it broadcast and with the basket.

As John Florio's translation was entered at Stationers' Hall so early as 1599, and published in 1603, little or no value can be attached to its evidence as regards the date of *The White Devil*, believed to have been written in the winter of 1611-12, or of *The Duchess of Malfi*, which was certainly not in its present form before 1612. All that I can prove is that Florio's book in its entirety was known to Webster before he wrote either of his plays. Now, this fact is rather interesting, because Sidney's *Arcadia*, which afforded so much material for *The Duchess of Malfi*, was, so far as I can gather, a sealed book to Webster when he wrote *The White Devil*. *The Arcadia*, or its influence, can be traced in *The Devil's Law-Case* and *A Monumental Column*, as I proved; but I have vainly

searched for a trace of Sidney's book in *The White Devil.* The inference I draw is that Webster wrote the latter play before he became possessed of a copy of *The Arcadia*, and, consequently, this negative bit of testimony bears out the received opinion that *The White Devil* is an earlier work than *The Duchess of Malfi*.

But, if the evidence of Florio is not very helpful in the dating of Webster's work, it is certainly of some value when applied to the work of Marston. Is not it of interest to know that these essays, which were published in 1603, are copied over and over again in *The Dutch Courtezan*, 1605, *The Fawn*, 1606, and *Sophonisba*, published in the same year?

I will now deal with some of the less valuable evidence that has come into my hands reserving more important matter for later pages; and I shall mingle the parallels with Montaigne in Webster and Marston as a preliminary in proof of my statement that both dramatists copied from Florio's book independently of each other. The editions I quote from are Prof. Henry Morley's reprint of Florio's *Montaigne*, Dyce's *Webster* and Mr. Bullen's *Marston*. I will give page and column as well as other references for the Montaigne and Webster quotations.

In a very interesting chapter of his book, Mon-

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

taigne relates instances of the callousness displayed by some men when about to be executed—the torments they were about to suffer, and the dreadful paraphernalia of the scaffold, being insufficient to prevent them from uttering words of jest, and laughing:—

One who was led to the gallowes, desired it might not be thorow such a street, for feare a Merchant should set a Serjant on his backe for an old debt. . . . . Another answered his confessor, who promised him he should sup that night with our Saviour in heaven, "Go thither yourselfe to supper, for I use to fast a nights."—Book I., chap. xl. p. 117, col. 2.

Marston makes capital use of these two stories:—

Officer. On afore there! room for the two prisoners!

Mulligrub. I pray you do not lead me to execution through Cheapside. I owe Master Burnish, the goldsmith, money, and I fear he'll set a sergeant on my back for it.

. . . .

Cocledemoy. O, sir, have a good stomach and maws; you shall have a joyful supper.

Mulligrub. In troth I have no stomach to it; and it please you, take away my trencher: I use to fast at nights.—"The Dutch Courtezan," V. iii. 67-81.

Another story told by Montaigne, which Marston passed by, although it comes between the two anecdotes just cited, is that of a man who—

Wished the hang-man not to touch his throat, lest hee should make him swowne with laughing, because hee was so ticklish.—Book I., chap. xl. p. 117, col. 2.

This notion of a man being tickled to death by the

hangman's rope, and dying with the laughter caused by the sensation, is made use of by Webster. The Duke of Florence causes Brachiano to be strangled; and, Flamineo, commenting on the crime and its author, says:—

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

> He doth not come, like a gross plodding slave,
> And buffet you to death; no, my quaint knave,
> He tickles you to death, makes you die laughing.
> "The White Devil," ll. 2950-2, p. 43, col. 1.

We may assume for the moment that Brachiano died laughing.

Montaigne does not approve of the conduct of those who in the pursuit of pleasure are rash and headlong in enjoying it:—

> The more steps and degrees there are, the more delight and honour is there on the top.

And in the same column he says:—

> I wot not who in ancient time wished his throat were as long as a cranes neck that so hee might the longer and more leasurely taste what he swallowed.—Book III. chap. v. p. 448, col. 2.

Thus in Marston:—

> *Franceschina.* You shall not gulp down all delights at once.
> . . . .
> No, no, I'll make you chew your pleasure vit love;
> De more degrees and steps, de more delight,
> De more endeared is de pleasure height.
> . . . .
> Go, little vag, pleasure should have a crane's
> Long neck, to relish de ambrosia of delight.
> "The Dutch Courtezan," V. i. 28-37.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

The saying of Montaigne is paralleled in the same play, and again in *Sophonisba* :—

Freevil. . . . in wine, alas for our pity! our throat is but short: &c.—"The Dutch Courtezan," I. i. 126.

Syphax. Hence!—stay, take thy delight by steps,
Think of thy joys, and make long thy pleasures, &c.
"Sophonisba," III. i. 176-7.

Again :—

It is an unpleasing and injurious custome unto ladies, that they must afford their lips to any man that hath but three lackies following him, how unhandsome and lothsome soever he be:

From whose dog nostrils black-blew ice depends,
Whose beard frost-hardened stands on bristled ends, &c.

Nor do we our selves gaine much by it: for as the world is divided into foure parts, so for foure faire ones we must kiss fiftie foule: and to a nice or tender stomack, as are those of mine age, one ill kiss doth surpay one good.—Book III. chap. v. p. 449, col. 1.

Crispinella. . . . my stomach o' late stands against kissing extremely.

Beatrice. Why, good Crispinella?

Crisp. By the faith and trust I bear to my face 'tis grown one of the most unsavoury ceremonies: body o' beauty! 'tis one of the most unpleasing injurious customs to ladies: any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collar and skirts also lined with taffety sarcenet, must salute us on the lips as familiarly—Soft skins save us! There was a stub-bearded John-a-Stile with a ployden's face saluted me last day and struck his bristles through my lips; I ha' spent ten shillings in pomatum since to skin them again. Marry, if a nobleman or a knight with one lock visit us, though his unclean goose-turd-green teeth ha' the palsy, his nostrils smell worse than a putrified marrowbone, and his loose beard drops into our bosom, yet we must kiss him with a cursy, a curse!—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 7-24.

A young man demanded of the Philosopher Panetius, whether it would beseeme a wise man to be in love; let wise men alone (quoth he), &c.—Book III. chap. v. p. 454, col. I.

Malbeureux. May it beseem a wise man to be in love?

Freevill. Let wise men alone, 'twill beseem thee and me well enough.—"The Dutch Courtezan," II. i. 98-100.

Hee that could dine with the smoke of roste meat, might he not dine at a cheape rate? would he not soon bee rich?—Book III. chap. v. p. 448, col. 2.

Free. O friend, he that could live with the smoke of roast-meat might live at a cheap rate!—"The Dutch Courtezan," II. i. 110-11.

I will vary matters now by a few quotations from Webster.

Montaigne says of marriage:—

It may be compared to a cage, the birds without dispaire to get in, and those within dispaire to get out.—Book III. chap. v. p. 433, col. 1.

Webster applies the figure to cases of illicit love:—

Flamineo. . . . 'tis just like a summer bird-cage in a garden; the birds that are without despair to get in, and the birds that are within despair, and are in a consumption, for fear they shall never get out.—"The White Devil, ll. 131-5, p. 7, col. 1.

Man's senses often deceive him, and cause him to receive impressions which he knows to be false. Amongst other instances Montaigne cites the case of the eyes:—

When we winke a little with our eye, wee perceive the bodies we looke upon to seeme longer and outstretched.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Our senses, too, are oftentimes dulled and altered by the passions of the mind or by diseases of the body:—

Such as are troubled with the yellow jandise deeme all things they looke upon to be yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them then to us.—Book II. chap. xii. p. 307, col. 1.

Flamineo. . . . they that have the yellow jaundice think all objects they look on to be yellow. Jealousy is worser: her fits present to a man, like so many bubbles in a bason of water, twenty several crabbed faces, &c.—"The White Devil," ll. 213-17, p. 8, col. 1.

Again:—

Forsomuch as our sight, being altered, represents unto itselfe things alike; and we imagine that things faile it as it doth to them: As they who travell by sea, to whom mountains, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seeme to goe the same motion, and keepe the same course they doe.—Book II. chap. xiii. pp. 310-11.

Webster makes use of this instance of illusion in the following speech, addressed to Camillo:—

Flamineo. So perfect shall be thy happiness, that, as men at sea think land and trees and ships go that way they go, so both heaven and earth shall seem to go your voyage.—"The White Devil," ll. 267-71, pp. 8-9.

Ben Jonson has these lines:—

Peace, Luxury, thou art like one of those
Who, being at sea, suppose
Because they move, the continent doth so.
"The Forest," xi. Epode.

A parallel, but varied, is to be found in *Albumazar*, III. iv.:—

As an attentive angler,
Fixing his steady eyes on the swift streams
Of a steep tumbling torrent, no sooner turns
His sight to land, but giddy, thinks the firm banks
And constant trees, move like the running waters:
So you, &c.

Monticelso. Why did the Duke of Florence with such care
Labour your pardon? Say.
Lodovico. Italian beggars will resolve you that,
Who, begging of an alms, bid those they beg of
Do good for their own sakes, &c.
"The White Devil," ll. 2254-8, p. 34, col. 2.

The origin of Lodovico's allusion is clear:—

I had much rather not to live at all then to live by almes. I would I had the priviledge to demande of them, in the same stile I have heard some beg in Italy: *Fate bene per voi:* "Do some good for your selfe."—Book III. chap. v. p. 455, col. 2.

I said in my article on Sir Philip Sidney and Webster that it is more than probable that the repetitions that have been noticed in Webster by various editors are due to notes taken by the author in his various readings. Here is another case to support my opinion. Montaigne says:—

We share the fruits of our prey with our dogges and hawkes, as a meed of their paine and reward of their industry.—Book II. c. xii. p. 232, col. 1.

Vit. Cor. Your dog or hawk should be rewarded better
Than I have been.
"The White Devil," ll. 2098-9, p. 32, col. 1.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Bosola. There are rewards for hawks and dogs when they have done us service; but for a soldier, &c.—"The Duchess of Malfi," I. i. 64-6, p. 59, col. 2.

Dyce quotes Reed, who says that Dryden borrowed from the following passage of Webster:—

Flamineo. What hast got,
But, like the wealth of captains, a poor handful,
Which in thy palm thou bear'st as men hold water?
Seeking to gripe it fast, the frail reward
Steals through thy fingers.

"The White Devil," ll. 1102-6, p. 19, col. 1.

Reed can hardly be right, because Dryden's figure is that of a man grasping snow, which melts away in his hand. Montaigne and Sir Philip Sidney both use Webster's figure, and Webster was perfectly acquainted with both authors. It is also in Marston:—

This made the poison swell in her cankered breast, perceiving that, as in water, the more she grasped the less she held, &c.—"The Arcadia," Book III.

It would be even as if one should go about to graspe the water: for, how much the more he shal close and presse that which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shall loose what he would hold and fasten.—"Essays," Book II. chap. xii. p. 309, col. 1.

Crispinella. Once married, got up his head above, a stiff, crooked, nobby, inflexible tyrannous creature he grows; then they turn like water, more you would embrace the less you hold.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 81-4.

Webster says that—

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Women are *more willingly and more gloriously chaste*, when they are least restrained of their liberty.—"The White Devil," ll. 192-4, p. 8, col. 1.

But Montaigne, who is arguing that a man should marry a rich woman rather than a poor one, declares that such a wife will be—

More willingly and gloriously chaste, by how much *fairer* they are.—Book II. chap. viii. p. 198, col. 2.

Women are like curst dogs: civility keeps them tied all day-time, but they are let loose at mid-night; then they do most good, or most mischief.—"The White Devil," ll. 320-3, p. 9, col. 2.

Note the word "civility"; it is the reading of the 1612 quarto; the quartos of 1631, 1665, and 1672 read "cruelty." This latter reading is borne out by Montaigne:—

Beleeve it, they [women] will have fire: *Luxuria ipsis vinculis, sicut fera bestia, irritata deinde emissa:* "Luxurie is like a wild beast, first made fiercer with tying, and then let loose. They must have the reynes given them a little."—Book III. chap. v. p. 450, col. 1.

It is cruelty, not civility, that keeps the beast tied up; and the object of this *incivility* is to make it more vicious when let loose. Montaigne argues for more freedom, not restraint.

Montaigne has a tilt at a certain class of scholars who delight in disputations and hair-splitting; and he selects for particular censure a Master of Arts. Deprive him, he says, of his gown, his Latin, and his Aristotle, and he will appear but a very ordinary

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

man. His "implication and entangling of speech," which beguiles men, "may fitly be compared unto juglers' play of fast and loose." (Book III. chap. viii. p. 473, col. 1.) Compare the whole of the Conjurer's speech with Montaigne, especially the following:—

> They'd make men think the devil were fast and loose,
> With speaking fustian Latin.
>
> "The White Devil," ll. 1007-8, p. 17, col. 2.

Montaigne explains what "fast and loose" means, and he is responsible for the reference to the jugglers' Latin in Webster. In his admirable edition of *The White Devil* and of *The Duchess of Malfi*, recently published, Prof. Martin Sampson quotes Mr. W. J. Craig's note in Reginald Scot. Fast and loose "is a trick game with a handkerchief or belt, the point being that a knot or loop which seems tied fast is really loose." This is exactly the meaning of the phrase in Montaigne.

I will turn to Marston once more. Dulcimel wishes to impart a secret to Philocalia, but the latter is chary of being its guardian:—

> *Philo.* You may trust my silence; I can command that; but if I chance to be questioned I must speak truth: I can conceal, but not deny my knowledge. That must command me.
>
> *Dul.* Fie on these philosophical discoursing women!—"The Fawn," III. i. 183-7.

In other words, fie on Montaigne!—

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

It is a paine for me to dissemble, so that I refuse to take charge of other men's secrets, as wanting hart to disavow my knowledge. I can conceale it; but deny it I cannot, without much ado and some trouble. To be perfectly secrete, one must be so by nature, not by obligation.—"Book III. chap. v. p. 430, col. 1.

Hercules. Dear sleep and lust, I thank you; but for you,
Mortal till now I scarce had known myself.

"The Fawn," I. ii. 331-2.

Of course, this has reference to the well-known saying of Alexander the Great:—

Alexander said that he knew himselfe mortall chiefly by this action and by sleeping.—Book III. chap. v. p. 447, col. 1.

The saying forms No. 123 of Bacon's *Apophthegms*, and it is quoted in *The Advancement of Learning*, Book I., and in the corresponding part of the *De Augmentis*. It is very surprising to find what a number of Bacon's *Apophthegms* are paralleled in Montaigne. The moral is that there was no need for Shakespeare or others to go to Bacon for certain matter, which has been paraded with a great blowing of trumpets.

In his *Essay of Truth* Bacon says:—

There is no Vice, that doth so cover a Man with Shame, as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore *Mountaigny* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, why the word of the *Lie*, should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, "If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God, and a Coward towards men." For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinkes from Man.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Florio translates as under:—

To lie is a horrible filthy vice; and which an ancient writer setteth forth very shamefully, when he saith that whosoever lieth witnesseth that he contemneth God and therewithall men. It is impossible more richly to represent the horrour, the vilenesse and the disorder of it: for what can be imagined so vile and base as to be a coward towards men and a boaster towards God?—Book II. chap. xviii. p. 341, col. 2.

Thus in Marston:—

> *Gonzago.* Yet to forswear and vow against one's heart,
> Is full of base, ignoble cowardice,
> Since 'tis most plain, such speeches do contemn
> Heaven and fear men (that's sententious now).
>
> "The Fawn," III. i. 420-3.

See also Ben Jonson:—

Macilente. I like such tempers well, as stand before their mistresses with fear and trembling; and before their Maker, like impudent mountains!—"Every Man out of his Humour," III. iii.

One incident in *The Duchess of Malfi* was certainly suggested by Montaigne.

Delio has a suit to Pescara for the citadel of St. Bennet, which has been forfeited by Antonio Bologna, but his suit is refused. Presently Julia, the Cardinal's mistress, makes petition for the citadel, and hands Pescara a letter from the Cardinal. Her petition is granted. Delio, who was a witness of the success of Julia's suit, is naturally indignant with his friend, who denied his request and yet gave the citadel to such a creature as Julia. But Pescara replies:—

It were not fit
I should bestow so main a piece of wrong
Upon my friend; '*tis a gratification*
Only due to a strumpet.
"The Duchess of Malfi," V. i. 56-9, p. 92, col. 1.

Compare:—

Epaminondas had caused a dissolute young man to be imprisoned; Pelopidas intreated him, that for his sake he would set him at libertie, but he refused him, and yeelded to free him at the request of an harlot of his, which likewise sued for his enlargement; saying, *it was a gratification due unto a Courtizan*, and not to a Captaine.—Book I. chap. xxix. p. 91, col. 1.

Bosola is a master of phrases, and he is fond of sayings of men eminent for their wisdom, which he does not scruple to use as occasion offers. I will deal with some of his utterances and trace them to their various sources:—

Bosola. I have done you better service than to be slighted thus. Miserable age, where only the reward of doing well is the doing of it.—"The Duchess of Malfi," I. i. 32-4, p. 59, cols. 1 and 2.

The speech is addressed to the Cardinal, and it perverts a lofty sentiment expressed by Seneca:—

Recte facti, fecisse merces est: Officii fructi, ipsum officium est: The reward of well-doing is the doing, and the fruit of our duty is our duty.—Montaigne, Book II. chap. xvi. p. 323, col. 1.

The Cardinal, replying to Bosola, exclaims,

Would you could become honest!

Bosola. With all your divinity do but direct me the way to it. I have known many travel far for it, and yet return as arrant knaves

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

as they went forth, because they carried themselves always along with them.—"The Duchess of Malfi," I. i. 43-8, p. 59, col. 2.

We must go to Plato's great master for illustration this time:—

It was told Socrates that one was no whit amended by his travell: "I believe it wel (said he) for he carried himselfe with him."—Book I. chap. xxxviii. p. 109, col. 1.

Cicero says:—

Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, et aliis jus peccandi suspicando fecerunt: Many have taught others to deceive while themselves feare to be deceived, and have given them just cause to offend by suspecting them unjustly.—Book III. chap. ix. p. 486, col. 1.

Thus in Webster:—

Bosola. He did suspect me wrongfully.
Ferdinand. For that
You must give great men leave to take their times.
Distrust doth cause us seldom be deceiv'd.
. . . .
Bos. Yet, take heed;
For to suspect a friend unworthily
Instructs him the next way to suspect you,
And prompts him to deceive you.

"The Duchess of Malfii," I. i. 278-87, p. 62, col. 1.

Bosola has a lively imagination, which leads him at times to exaggerate very simple facts. Montaigne has the following, to prove to what lengths some persons will go to add to their personal charms:—

Who hath not heard of her at Paris, which only to get a fresher hew of a new skin, endured to have her face flead all over?—Book I. chap. xl. p. 122, col. 1.

The experiment, apparently, was successful; but this is how Bosola represents the result:—

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

There was a lady in France that, having had the small-pox, flayed the skin off her face to make it more level; and whereas before she looked like a nutmeg-grater, after she resembled an abortive hedgehog.—"The Duchess of Malfi," II. i. 33-7, p. 67, col. 1.

But Bosola is nothing if he is not philosophical; he is never lost for a theme, and bears down everybody with his brain:—

Antonio. Now, sir, in your contemplation? You are studying to become a great wise fellow.

Bosola. O, sir, the opinion of wisdom is a foul tetter that runs all over a man's body; if simplicity direct us to have no evil, it directs us to a happy being; for the subtlest folly proceeds from the subtlest wisdom; let me be simply honest.—"The Duchess of Malfi," II. i. 90-7, p. 67, col. 2.

The sentiments are Montaigne's, and occur in Book II. chap. xii., where they are widely separated by other matter:—

The opinion of wisdome is the plague of man. That is the occasion why ignorance is by our religion recommended unto us as an instrument fitting beleefe and obedience.—P. 246, col. 2.

Whence proceeds the subtilest follie but from the subtilest wisdome?—P. 248, col. 1.

I say therefore, that if simplicitie directeth us to have no evill, it also addresseth us according to our condition to a most happy estate.—P. 249, col. 2.

Antonio is duly impressed by these deep-brained reasonings, but thinks that the scholar's melancholy,

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

which Bosola affects so much, is out of fashion, and therefore he begs him to leave it, and be wise for himself:—

Bosola. Give me leave to be honest in any phrase, in any compliment whatsoever. Shall I confess myself to you? I look no higher than I can reach: they are the gods that must ride on winged horses. —Ll. 103-7, p. 67, col. 2.

Montaigne says:—

It is for Gods to mount winged horses, and to feed on Ambrosia.—Book I. chap. xlii. p. 133, col. 1.

Finally, Bosola treats Antonio to an exposition of his views on the question of the divinity of kings, and he demolishes the popular fallacy with the aid of some highly original illustrations, the parson's humble tithe-pig trotting in to form the tail-end of the argument:—

Say you were lineally descended from King Pepin, or he himself, what of this? Search the heads of the greatest rivers in the world, you shall find them but bubbles of water. Some would think the souls of princes were brought forth by some more weighty cause than those of meaner persons: they are deceived, there's the same hand to them; the like passions sway them; the same reason that makes a vicar to go to law for a tithe-pig, and undo his neighbours, makes them spoil a whole province, and batter down goodly cities with the cannon.—Ll. 115-26, pp. 67-8.

Compare:—

The soules of Emperours and Coblers are all cast in one same mould. Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee perswade ourselves they are brought forth by some as weighty and

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

important causes; wee are deceived: They are moved, stirred and removed in their motions by the same springs and wards that we are in ours. The same reason that makes us chide and braule and fall out with any of our neighbours, causeth a warre to follow betweene Princes; the same reason that makes us whip or beat a lackey maketh a Prince (if hee apprehend it) to spoyle and waste a whole Province. . . . In rowling on they [laws] swell and grow greater and greater, as doe our rivers: follow them upward into their source, and you shall find them but a bubble of water, &c.—Book II. chap xii. p. 239, col. 2, and p. 299, col. 1.

Montaigne refers to the counsel of Epicurus to Idomeneus, that

there is no man so base minded that loveth not rather to fall once than ever to remaine in feare of falling.—Book I. chap. xxxii. p. 100, col. 1.

Montaigne's theme is self-murder, which, failing all other means of bettering a wretched condition of being, is approved of. In Webster, Antonio has resolved upon a certain course,—

. . . if it fail,
Yet it shall rid me of this infamous calling;
For better fall once than be ever falling.
"The Duchess of Malfi," V. i. 87-9, p. 92, col. 2.

Of giving way to anger and the difficulty of checking oneself in the height of the passion, Montaigne says:—

Slight occasions surprise me, and the mischiefe is that after you are once falne into the pits it is no matter who thrusts you in, you never cease till you come to the bottome. The fall presseth, hasteneth, mooveth, and furthereth it selfe.—Book II. chap. xxxi. p. 366, col. 2.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

And so in Webster, but in a varying sense, we find the same figure and phrasing used:—

First Pilgrim. If that a man be thrust into a well,
No matter who sets hand to 't, his own weight
Will bring him sooner to the bottom.
"The Duchess of Malfi," III. iv. 45-7, p. 82, col. 1.

All lovers of Webster must admire the remarkably fine speech of Antonio near the end of the play, where he indulges in reflections conjured up by the sight of the ruins of an old abbey:—

Antonio. I do love these ancient ruins.
We never tread upon them but we set
Our foot upon some reverend history, &c.
"The Duchess of Malfi," V. iii. 10-12, p. 97, col. 2.

It is with a keen sense of regret that I must point out that the ideas and expressions in this speech are borrowed; yet Webster, here as elsewhere, has not done injustice to his original, for he has given them a noble setting and made them his own by his beautiful adaptation of them. But, after all, Montaigne himself is borrowing; and in many places of his book he commends such borrowing as Webster's.

Montaigne is referring to Rome particularly. I have space for only a short quotation:—

And therefore can I not so often looke into the situation of their streets and houses, and those wondrous-strange ruines, that may be said to reach down to the Antipodes, but so often must I ammuse my selfe on them. . . . *Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis: et id quidem*

in hac urbe infinitum; quacunque enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus [Cicero, "S. de Fin."]. So great a power of admonition is in the very place. And that in this city is most infinite, for which way soever we walke, we set our foote upon some history, . . . even her ruine is glorious with renowne, and swolne with glorie.—Book III. chap. lx. p. 511, col. 2.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Cariola. Or rather like some reverend monument
Whose ruins are even pitied.
"The Duchess of Malfi," IV. ii. 40-1, p. 86, col. 1.

Marston, too, lingered over the allusion to Rome, and hence these magnificent lines:—

Erictho. Know then, our love, hard by the reverent ruins
Of a once glorious temple rear'd to Jove,
Whose very rubbish (like the pitied fall
Of virtue most unfortunate) yet bears
A deathless majesty, though now quite razed, &c.
"Sophonisba," IV. i. 144-8.

The parallels in Montaigne and Marston are so numerous and so close that I find it will save time and labour to students if I record them as they occur in Marston's work. Only close or interesting coincidences in the two authors will be noticed, and those that have already been dealt with will, of course, be excluded from the list, which is far from being complete.

Several of Montaigne's quotations from Latin and other authors are used by Marston and Webster:—

Malheureux. O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent.—"The Dutch Courtezan," II. i. 82.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

This sentence occurs in the *Essays*, Book III. chap. v. p. 448, col. 1, the reference being to Cor. Gal. *El.*, I. 183.

We can confidently assume that Marston did not consult the original in the above case; and it is still more unlikely that he went to St. Jerome for the following, which Montaigne cites in the same chapter, p. 438, col. 2:—

> *Diaboli virtus in lumbis est!*—"The Dutch Courtezan," II. i. 92.

Now, this quotation from St. Jerome comes immediately after matter in Montaigne that Marston has copied literally in *The Fawn*, III. i. 227-36, as will appear in the proper place.

Following the saying of St. Jerome is the question of Malheureux as to whether or not a wise man may be in love; and then we come to Freevill's saying about living upon the smoke of roast-meat. As I have shown already, both passages copy Montaigne, still the same chapter—

> *Freevill.* No matter, sir; insufficiency and sottishness are much commendable in a most discommendable action.—Ll. 115-17.

Literally from Montaigne, same book and chapter:—

> And yet if I were to beginne anew, it should bee by the very same path and progresse, how fruitlesse soever it might proove unto me, *insufficiency and sottishnesse are commendable in a discommendable action.*—P. 453, col. 2.

Montaigne says that love "is a matter everywhere

infused, and a centre whereto all lines come, all things looke."—P. 436, col. 1.

Freevill. Love is the centre in which all lines close, the common bond of being.—Ll. 121-2.

Freevill. Incontinence will force a continence;
Heat wasteth heat, light defaceth light, &c.—Ll. 126-7.

Nimirum propter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incendium ignibus extinguitur: Belike we must be incontinent that we may be continent, burning is quenched by fire."—P. 436, col. 2.

Absentem marmoreamque putes.—Martial, xi. 60.

Here again Marston and Montaigne cite the same passage, the latter in p. 449, col. 1, and the former in l. 145.

Malheureux. To kill my friend! O 'tis to kill myself!
Yet man's but man's excrement—man breeding man
As he does worms; or this, to spoil this nothing. [*He spits.*
"The Dutch Courtezan," II. ii. 213-15.

Mr. K. Deighton thinks that the reading of this passage should be:—

Yet man's but excrement—man breeding man,
As he does worms, or this [*He spits*], to spoil this nothing.
"The Old Dramatists, Conjectural Readings," p. 7.

This is the passage which Marston copied:—

There have Philosophers beene found disdaining this naturall conjunction: witnesse Aristippus, who being urged with the affection he ought his children, as proceeding from his loyns, began to spit, saying, That also that excrement proceeded from him, and that also we engendred wormes and lice.—Book I. chap. xxvii. p. 84, col 1.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Montaigne declares that the affection between man and woman is not to be compared with the real friendship that sometimes exists between man and man; the former

"languisheth and vanisheth away: enjoying doth lose it, as having a corporall end, and subject to satietie."—Book I. chap. xxvii. p. 84, col. 2.

Malheureux. . . . To kill a friend
To gain a woman! to lose a virtuous self
For appetite and sensual end, whose very having
Loseth all appetite, and gives satiety!
That corporal end, &c.
"The Dutch Courtezan," II. ii. 211-5.

Montaigne and Marston are both very outspoken, they call a spade a spade; but the Frenchman is more refined in his speech than his imitator, who—to use a pet phrase of his own—is "gross-jawed":—

Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudet sentire. Let us not bee ashamed to speake what we shame not to thinke. . . . For my part I am resolved to dare speake whatsoever I dare do.—Book III. chap. v. p. 429, col. 2.

Beatrice. Fie, Crispinella, you speak too broad.

Crisp. No jot, sister; let's ne'er be ashamed to speak what we be not ashamed to think: I dare as boldly speak venery as think venery.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 26-9.

Why was the acte of generation made so naturall, so necessary and so just, seeing we feare to speake of it without shame, and exclude it from our serious and regular discourses; we pronounce to rob, to murther, to betray: and this we dare not but betweene our teeth.—Book III. chap. v. p. 431, col. 1.

Crispinella. Now bashfulness seize you, we pronounce boldly, rob-

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

bery, murder, treason, which deeds must needs be far more loathsome than an act which is so natural, just, and necessary, as that of procreation; you shall have an hypocritical vestal virgin speak that with close teeth publicly, which she will receive with open mouth privately; &c.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i.

The worst of my actions or condicions seeme not so ugly unto me as I finde it both ugly and base not to dare to avouch them. Every one is wary in the confession; we should be as heady in the action.—Book III. chap. v. p. 429, col. 2.

Crispinella. I give thoughts words, and words truth, and truth boldness: she whose honest freeness makes it her virtue to speak what she thinks will make it her necessity to think what is good.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 39-42.

Is it not herein as in matters of books, which being once called in and forbidden, become more saleable and publik?—Book III. chap. v. p. 431, col. 1.

Crispinella. I love no prohibited things, and yet I would have nothing prohibited by policy, but by virtue; for as in the fashion of time those books that are call'd in are most in sale and request, so in nature those actions that are most prohibited are most desired.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 42-7.

I love a lightsome and civil discretion, and loathe a roughnes and austerity of behaviour. . . . Socrates had a constant countenance, but lightsome and smyling: not frowardly constant, as old Crassus, who was never seen to laugh. Vertue is a pleasant and buxom quality.—Book III. chap. v. p. 429, col. 2.

Crispinella. Fie, fie! virtue is a free, pleasant, buxom quality. I love a constant countenance well; but this froward ignorant coyness, sour austere lumpish uncivil privateness, that promises nothing but rough skins and hard stools; ha! fie on't, good for nothing but for nothing.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 51-6.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Crisp. Virtuous marriage! there is no more affinity betwixt virtue and marriage than betwixt a man and his horse; &c.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 88-90.

Those who thinke to honour marriage by joyning love unto it (in mine opinion) doe as those who, to doe vertue a favour, holde that nobilitie is no other thing than vertue. Indeed, these things have affinitie, but therewithall great difference; their names and titles should not thus be commixt; both are wronged so to be confounded.—Book III. chap. v. p. 432, col. 1.

See also *The Fawn*, III. i. 212, where Marston says that "love or virtue are not of the essence of marriage."

Compare too:—

A minde couragiously vicious may happily furnish itselfe with security, but shee cannot be fraught with this selfe-joyning delight and satisfaction.—Book III. chap. ii. p. 410, col. 2.

Malheureux. Dear loved sir, I find a mind courageously vicious may be put on a desperate security; but can never be blessed with a firm enjoying and self-satisfaction.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 233-6.

Conceive man accompanied with omnipotency, you overwhelme him: he must in begging manner crave some impeachment and resistance of you.—Book III. chap. vii. p. 469, col. 1.

Freevill. But consider man furnished with omnipotence, and you overthrow him; thou must cool thy impatient appetite.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 262-3.

Quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt: "What erst were vices are now growne fashions."—Book III. chap. ii. p. 410, col. 2.

Freevill. What old times held as crimes, are now but fashions.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. i. 284.

See also *The Fawn*, I. ii. 350.

Stercus cuique suum bene olet.

Ev'ry man's ordure well
To his owne sense doth smell.
Book III. chap. viii. p. 474, cols. 1 and 2.

Cocledemoy. Every man's turd smells well in 's own nose.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. iii. 50-51.

Mistress Mulligrub. I was a gentlewoman by my sister's side—I can tell ye so methodically. Methodically! I wonder where I got that word? O! Sir Aminadab Ruth bad me kiss him methodically!—I had it somewhere, and I had it indeed.—"The Dutch Courtezan," III. iii. 59-63.

Perhaps Marston got his word from Florio:—

Every one may speake truely, but to speake orderly, *methodically*, wisely and sufficiently, few can doe it.—Book III. chap. viii. p. 473, col. 2.

The weaknes of our condition causeth that things in their naturall simplicitie and puritie cannot fall into our use. The elements we enjoy are altered: metals likewise, yea gold, must be empaired with some other stuffe to make it fit for our service. Nor vertue so simple, which Ariston, Pyrrho, and Stoikes made the end of their life, hath been able to doe no good without composition, &c.—Book II. chap. xx. p. 344, col. 1.

Freevill. But is this virtue in me? No, not pure,
Nothing extremely best with us endures;
No use in simple purities; the elements
Are mix'd for use; silver without allay
Is all too eager to be wrought for use:
Nor precise virtues, ever purely good,
Holds useful size with temper of weak blood.
"The Dutch Courtezan," IV. ii. 40-46.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

The parallel to Act V. sc. i. ll. 28-37, has already been recorded on p. 5.

I can never forget this good saying: *Jactantius mœrent, quæ minus dolent:* "They keepe a howling with most ostentation who are less sorrowfull at heart." Their lowring and puling is hatefull to the living and vaine to the dead. Wee shall easily dispence with them to laugh at us when we are dead, upon condition they smile upon us while wee live. Is not this the way to revive a man with spite; that he who hath spitten in my face when I was living shall come and claw my feet when I am dead?—Book II. chap. xxxv. p. 378, col. 2.

Tysefew. Is not this better than louring and pouting and puling, which is hateful to the living and vain to the dead? Come, come, you must live by the quick, when all is done; and for my own part, let my wife laugh at me when I am dead, so she'll smile upon me whilst I live: but to see a woman whine, and yet keep her eyes dry: mourn, and yet keep her cheeks fat: nay, to see a woman claw her husband by the feet when he is dead, that would have scratched him by the face when he was living—this now is somewhat rediculous.—"The Dutch Courtezan," V. ii. 80-90.

For the parallel to Act V. sc. iii. ll. 68-81, see p. 4.

I turn now to *The Fawn.*

Montaigne, praising the Emperor Maximilian, says:—

"Contrarie to other Princes, who to dispatch their weightiest affaires make often their close-stoole their regall Throne or Council-Chamber, [he] . . . would not permit any groome of his chamber (were he never so neere about him) to see him in his inner chamber, &c.—Book I. chap. iii. p. 7, col. 1.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Nymphadoro. Thou art private with the duke; thou belongest to his close-stool.—"The Fawn, I. ii. 46-7.

The most common and soundest part of men holdeth multitude of children to be a signe of great happinesse and comfort; So do I, and many others, the want of them.—Book I. chap. xl. p. 123, col. 2.

Hercules. Oh! 'tis a blessed assurance of Heaven's favour, and long-lasting name, to have many children.

Amoroso. But I ha' none, Fawn, now.

Hercules. O that's most excellent—a right special happiness.—"The Fawn," II. i. 132-7.

A misprint, which even Mr. Bullen has not attempted to correct, occurs in the following passage, where "brued" should read either "bound" or "glued," the former word being probably the correct one. The phrasing in Marston is palpably an imitation of Florio, as the following will show:—

Hercules. There's some weakness in your brother you wrinkle at thus; come, prithee, impart; what? we are mutually incorporated, turn'd one into another, brued [sic] together.—"The Fawn," II. i. 176-9.

In the amitie I speake, they entermixe and counfound themselves one in the other, with so universall a commixture, that they weare out and can no more finde the seame that hath conjoined them together . . . And at our first meeting, which was by chance at a great feast, and solemne meeting of a whole towneship, we found our selves so surprized, so knowne, so acquainted, and so combinedly *bound together*, that from thence forward, nothing was so neer unto us as one unto anothers.—Book I. chap. xxvii. pp. 85-6.

That is to say, let the rest be our owne; yet not so combined and *glued together* that it may not be sundred without fleaing us, &c.—Book I. chap. xxxviii. p. 111, col. 1.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

. . . No eminent or glorious vertue can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation . . . Dares not Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and neerest approaching to divinity when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde? . . . The two naturall waies to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to foresee the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe.—Book II. chap. xii. p. 290, col. 2.

Hercules. Vice may be cured, for now beside myself,
Possess'd with almost frenzy, from strong fervour
I know I shall produce things mere divine:
Without immoderate heat, no virtues shine.
For I speak strong, tho' strange,—the dews that steep
Our souls in deepest thoughts are fury and sleep.

"The Fawn," II. i. 605-10.

Act III. sc. i. ll. 183-6, *re* keeping counsel, has already been dealt with on p. 12.

Compare:—

There is no point of doing more thorny nor more active then this of not doing. I find it easier to beare all ones life a combersome armour on his backe then a maiden-head. And the vow of virginity is the noblest of all vowes, because the hardest.—Book III. chap. v. p. 438, col. 2.

Dulcimel. First, for the virtue of magnanimity, I am very valiant, for there is no heroic action so particularly noble and glorious to our sex, as not to fall to action; the greatest deed we can do is not to do (look that nobody listen). Then am I full of patience, and can bear more than a sumpter-horse; for (to speak sensibly), what burthen is there so heavy to a porter's back as virginity to a well-complexioned young lady's thoughts? (Look no body hearken.) By this hand the noblest vow is that of virginity, because the hardest.—"The Fawn," III. i. 227-36.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Montaigne says:—

To forbid us anything is the ready way to make us long for it.—Book II. chap. xv. p. 315, col. 1.

[Love is] a pleasure inflamed by difficulty.—Book III. chap. v. p. 434, col. 1.

The price or honor of the conquest is rated by the difficultie.—Book III. chap. v. p. 439, col. 1.

It is against the nature of love not to be violent, and against the condition of violence to be constant.—Book III. chap. v. p. 451, col. 1.

Thus in Marston:—

Philocalia. But, dear madam, your reason of loving him?

Dulcimel. Faith, only a woman's reason, because I was expressly forbidden to love him . . .

Phi. But, when you saw no means of manifesting your affection to him, why did not your hopes perish?

Dul. O Philocalia! that difficulty only enflames me: when the enterprise is easy, the victory is inglorious . . .

Phi. O love, how violent are thy passages!

Dul. Pish, Philocalia! 'tis against the nature of love not to be violent.

Phi. And against the condition of violence to be constant.—"The Fawn," III. i. 242-73.

The source of Gonzago's remarks concerning lies, in III. i. 420-23, is dealt with on p. 14.

As I shall be dealing presently with the passage in Montaigne that is supposed to have been copied from Marston by Webster, I will anticipate matters here by showing further resemblances between *The White Devil* and the *Essays.*

Marston may or may not have got a hint from

Montaigne Webster, and Marston: &c.

Montaigne for a saying in the following speech :—

Hercules. Your father, I may boldly say, he 's an ass
To hope that you'll forbear to swallow
What he cannot chew ; &c.

"The Fawn," III. i. 512-14.

But there can be no manner of doubt about the origin of the same or a similar saying in Webster, who, like Montaigne, uses it in relation to the question of self-slaughter. Montaigne notes instances of men who have attempted, but failed, to kill themselves outright, courage having deserted them in their extremity. The smarting wounds they inflicted upon themselves served but to intensify the anguish of mind they already suffered, thus adding to their torments. To kill oneself with a sword requires a steady hand and an unfaltering purpose ; at the moment of execution there is no time to consult flesh and blood ; the mortal instrument

is a meate a man must swallow without chewing, &c.—Book II. chap. xiii. p. 312, col. 2.

Vit. Cor. To kill one's self is meat that we must take
Like pills, not chew 't, but quickly swallow it ;
The smart o' the wound, or weakness of the hand,
May else bring treble torments.

"The White Devil," ll. 3319-22, p. 47, col. 2.

The previous speech by Vittoria Corombona elicits a reply from Flamineo which also is a close imitation of Montaigne :—

Vit. Cor. I prithee, yet remember
Millions are now in graves, which at last day
Like mandrakes shall rise shrieking.
Flam. Leave your prating,
For these are but grammatical laments,
Feminine arguments: and they move me,
As some in pulpits move their auditory,
More with their exclamation than sense
Of reason or sound doctrine.

"The White Devil," ll. 3306-14, p. 47, col. 2.

Caesars gowne disquieted all Rome, which his death had not done: the very sound of names, which jingleth in our eares, as, "Oh, my poore master"; or "Alas, my deare friend"; "Oh, my good father"; or, "Alas, my sweete daughter." When such like repetitions pinch me, and that I looke more nearely to them, I finde them but grammaticall laments, the word and the tune wound me. Even as Preachers exclamations do often move their auditory more than their reasons, &c.—Book III, chap. iv. p. 425, col. 2.

The phrase, "grammatical laments," is proverbial, and is paralleled in *The Arcadia*:—

Basilius. For what can breed more peevish incongruities,
Then man to yeeld to female lamentations?
Let us some grammar learne of more congruities.

"Poems," Grosart's Edition, Vol. II., p. 168.

and Webster harks back to Montaigne in *The Devil's Law-Case*:—

Ariosto. I must talk to you like a divine.
Romelio. I have heard
Some talk of it very much, and many times
To their auditors' impatience.

II., III. 43-46, p. 119, cols. 1-2.

I have shown (on p. 4) that both Webster and

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Marston had taken notes from Montaigne, Book I. chap. xl. pp. 117-18. Another case of borrowing from the same interesting chapter occurs in *The White Devil*, where Flamineo is caught in the toils, and about to meet death. He laughs at the threats of Lodovico, and follows up this display of merriment in the presence of death by asking:—

> Would'st have me die, as I was born, in whining?
> *Gasparo.* Recommend yourself to heaven.
> *Flam.* No, I will carry mine own commendations thither.
>
> Lines 3461-3, p. 49, col. 2.

> To another that exhorted him to recommend himselfe to God, he asked, "Who is going to him?" And the fellow answering, "Yourselfe shortly:" "If it be his good pleasure, I would to God it might be to morrow night," replied he. "Recommend but your selfe to him," said the other, "and you shall quickly be there." "It is best then," answered he, "that my selfe carry mine own commendations to him." P. 118, col. 1.

Again, Montaigne states that William, Duke of Guienne,

> for penance-sake, wore continually a corselet under a religious habit.—P. 122, col. 2.

In *The White Devil* "two noblemen of Hungary" who accompany "the Moor," are said to

> have vowed for ever to wear, next their bare bodies, those coats of mail they served in.
> *Hortensio.* Hard penance!
>
> Lines 2366-9, p. 35, col. 2.

Webster was surely thinking of Montaigne.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

The following verse from the *Æneid*, v. l. 6, is quoted by Montaigne in Book III. chap. v. p. 440, col. 2, and by Marston in *The Fawn*, III. i. 537 :—

Notumque, furens quid fœmina possit.

We come now to the passage in Marston that Webster is supposed to have copied. As I have abundantly proved that both dramatists imitated the *Essays* independently of each other, I will merely deal with the parallels in the ordinary way.

Wishing and enjoying trouble us both alike. The rigor of a mistris is yrkesome, but ease and facility (to say true) much more; forasmuch as discontent and vexation proceed of the estimation we have of the thing desired, which sharpen love and set it afire. Whereas satiety begets distaste: it is a dull, blunt, weary, and drouzy passion.—Book II. chap. xv. p. 315, col. 2.

In Marston thus :—

Herod. Upon four great madonnas have I this afternoon grafted the forked tree!

Hercules. Is 't possible?

Herod. Possible? Fie on this satiety?—'tis a dull, blunt, weary, and drowsy passion.—"The Fawn," IV. i. 103-8.

Marston's phrase "grafted the forked tree" is also from Montaigne :—

He would hardly have perswaded Calisthenes to refuse his faire daughter Agarista to Hippoclides, because he had seen him graft the forked tree in her upon a table.—Book II. chap. xii. p. 299, col. 2.

The parallel in Webster comes in with other matter that was manifestly filched from Montaigne,

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

but I will not stay to point out the resemblances; yet it is interesting to note that a correction by Dyce accords with the phrasing in the *Essays*:—

Flamineo. What is 't you doubt? her coyness? that 's but the superficies of lust most women have: yet why should ladies blush to hear that named which they do not fear to handle? O, they are politic: they know our desire is increased by the difficulty of enjoying; *whereas* satiety is a blunt, weary and drowsy passion.—"The White Devil," ll. 103-9, p. 6, col. 2.

The old quartos make Flamineo say "where a satiety is," &c. Dyce altered to "whereas," the word used by Montaigne.

The last words of Herod's speech are followed by this question:—

Who would be a proper fellow to be thus greedily devoured and swallowed among ladies? Faith, 'tis a torment—my very rack!

Hercules. Right, Herod, true; for imagine all a man possess'd with a perpetual pleasure, like that of generation, even in the highest lusciousness, he straight sinks as unable to bear so continual, so pure, so universal a sensuality.—Ll. 108-16.

Almost literally from Montaigne, as is much other matter in the same scene:—

When I imagine man fraught with all the commodities may be wished, let us suppose all his severall members were for ever possessed with a pleasure like unto that of generation, even in the highest point that may be; I finde him to sinke under the burden of his ease, and perceive him altogether unable to beare so pure, so constant, and so universall a sensuality.—Book II. chap. xx. pp. 344-5.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Verily according to the lawe which nature giveth them, it is not fit for them [women] to will and desire: their part is to beare, to obey, and to consent. Therefore hath nature bestowed a perpetuall capacity; on us [men] a seld and uncertaine ability. They have alwayes their houre, that they may ever be ready to let us enter. — Book III. chap. v. p. 450, col. 2.

Hercules. O, sir, Nature is a wise workman. She knows right well that if women should woo us to the act of love, we should all be utterly shamed. How often should they take us unprovided, when they are always ready!—"The Fawn," IV. i. 136-40.

In his ship of fools Marston has found a place for

some philosophers, and a few critics; one of which critics has lost his flesh with fishing at the measure of Plautus' verses; another has vow'd to get the consumption of the lungs, or to leave to posterity the true orthography and pronunciation of laughing; a third hath melted a great deal o' suet, worn out his thumbs with turning, read out his eyes, and studied his face out of a sanguine into a meagre, spawling, fleamy loathsomeness, —and all to find but why *mentula* should be the feminine gender, since the rule is, *Propria quæ maribus tribuuntur mascula dicas.*—"The Fawn," IV. i. 218-28.

This gird at fantastical scholars is a close imitation of Montaigne:—

This man, whom about mid-night, when others take their rest, thou seest come out of his study, meagre looking, with eyes trilling, flegmatick, squalide, and spauling, doest thou thinke that plodding on his books he doth seek how he shall become an honester man, or more wise, or more content? There is no such matter. He wil either die in his pursuit, or teach posteritie the measure of Plautus verses and the true orthography of a Latine word.—Book I. chap. xxxviii. p. 110, col. 2.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Webster and Dr. Donne have reflections of a similar kind:—

Sil. What 's that, Bosola?

Delio. I knew him in Padua,—a fantastical scholar, like such who study to know how many knots was in Hercules' club, of what colour Achilles' beard was, or whether Hector were not troubled with the tooth-ache. He hath studied himself half blear-eyed to know the true symmetry of Cæsar's nose by a shoeing-horn; and this he did to get the name of a speculative man.—"The Duchess of Malfi," III. iii. 49-58, p. 81, col. 1.

As I shall have to show that Webster has copied Dr. Donne in *The Duchess of Malfi*, it may not be amiss to hazard a guess here that his reference to Cæsar and the turn he has given to the passage in Montaigne were suggested to him by the following:—

> We see in authors, too stiff to recant
> A hundred controversies of an ant:
> And yet one watches, starves, freezes, and sweats,
> To know but catechisms and alphabets
> Of unconcerning things, matters of fact,
> How others on our stage their parts did act,
> What Cæsar did, yea, and what Cicero said.
> Why grass is green, or why our blood is red,
> Are mysteries which none have reach'd unto, &c.
> "An Anatomy of the World," ll. 281-89.

Of the philosophers in the ship of fools,

One knows nothing: dares not aver he lives, goes, sees, feels.

Nym. A most insensible philosopher.

Don. Another, that there is no present time, and that one man to-

day and to-morrow is not the same man ; so that he that yesterday owed money, to-day owes none, because he is not the same man.

"The Fawn," IV. i. 236-42.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston : &c.

The philosophy is that of Montaigne, who argues that man can have no certainty about anything that is supposed to exist in or around him :—

In few, there is no constant existence, neither of our being, nor of the objects . . . Heraclitus avereth that no man ever entered twice one same river ; Epicharmus avoucheth that who ere while borrowed any money doth not now owe it ; and that he who yesternight was bidden to dinner this day, commeth today unbidden ; since they are no more themselves, but are become others, &c.

Book II. chap. xii. p. 309, cols. 1 and 2.

Fun is made of this doctrine in *Two Wise Men and all the rest Fools*, a play attributed to George Chapman, and, most certainly, wrongly so, by Winstanley and Langbaine. Vulcano sets out to demonstrate by logic that he is not a living creature. He learnt his logic, he says, at Sturbridge Fair, whilst he was selling hobnails.

I will prove this : and I will prove anything by logic : what a maim it is for a man to be ignorant of the virtue and power of logic. I pity thee, and all such as be unlearned like thyself. Why, man, I will prove by logic *that he which was the last year and yet lives, is not, &c.*

II., III., "Chapman's Plays," p. 393, col. 2.

Marston has snapped up a phrase from the following passage :—

To those well-meaning people there need no sharpe encounter or witty equivocation : their speech is altogether full and massie, with a

Montaigne Webster, and Marston: &c.

naturall and constant vigor: they are *all epigram*, not only taile, but head, stomacke, and feet.—Book III. chap. v. p. 444, col. 2.

Eon. That salt,—that criticism,—that very *all epigram* of a woman,—that analysis,—that compendium of wittiness!—"The Fawn," IV. i. 284-6.

Webster, too, has acted similarly in regard to one that always lingers in my mind:—

The *soule* must be *held fast with* ones *teeth*, since the lawe to live an honest man is not to live as long as they please, but so long as they ought.—Book II. chap. xxxv. p. 382, col. 1.

Bosola [*fatally wounded*]. Yes, I *hold* my weary *soul in my teeth*;
'Tis ready to part from me.

"The Duchess of Malfi," V. v. 96-7, p. 100, col. 2.

Mr. Bullen thinks that possibly there is an allusion in what follows to the execution of Sir Edward Digby, who, for his share in the Gunpowder Plot, was drawn, hanged, and quartered:—

I will rather marry a woman that with thirst drinks the blood of man! nay, heed me, a woman that will thrust in crowds,—a lady, that, being with child, ventures the hope of her womb,—nay, gives two crowns for a room to behold a goodly man three parts alive quartered, his privities hackled off, his belly lanch'd up. Nay, I'll rather marry a woman to whom these smoking, hideous, bloodful, horrid, tho' most just spectacles, are very lust, rather than reaccept thee.—"The Fawn," IV. i. 308-17.

The allusion may be to the execution of Sir Edward Digby, but the reflections of Marston are much like similar reflection in Montaigne:—

I could hardly be perswaded before I had seene it, that the world could have afforded so marble-hearted and savage-minded men, that

for the onely pleasure of murther would commit it; then cut, mangle, and hacke other members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wits, to invent unused tortures and unheard-of torments; to devise new and unknowne deaths, and that in cold blood, without any former enmitie or quarrell, or without any gaine or profit; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the languishing gestures, pitifull motions, horror-moving yellings, deep fetcht groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For that is the extremest point whereunto the crueltie of man may attaine.—Book II. chap. xi. p. 217, col. 1.

Cuckolds, who publish their shame to the world, are fools: they should rather wink at faults than expose them:—

Curiosity is everywhere vicious, but herein pernicious. It is meere folly for one to seeke to be resolved of a doubt, or search into a mischiefe, for which there is no remedie, but makes it worse, but festereth the same: the reproach whereof is increased, and chiefely published by jealousie; and the revenge whereof doth more wound and disgrace our children then it helpeth or graceth us.—Book III. chap. v. p. 422, col. 1.

Hercules. In all things curiosity hath been
Vicious at least, but herein most pernicious.
What madness is 't to search and find a wound
For which there is no cure, and which unfound
Ne'er rankles, whose finding only wounds?
But he that upon vain surmise forsakes
His bed thus long, only to search his shame;
Gives to his wife youth, opportunity,
Keeps her in idleful deliciousness,
Heats and inflames imagination,
Provokes her to revenge with churlish wrongs,—
What should he hope but this?

"The Fawn," IV. i. 587-9

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

And why should men make such a pother about a matter that is dictated by the very laws of nature?

It lieth not in them [*i.e.*, women] (nor perhaps in chastitie it selfe, seeing she is a female) to shield themselves from concupiscence and avoid desiring.—Book III. chap. v. p. 440, col. 2.

Hercules. Why should it lie in women,
Or even in chastity itself (since chastity 's a female),
T' avoid desires so ripened, such sweets so candied?
"The Fawn," IV. i. 598-600.

It is wisdom to proclaim yourself a cuckold, if you are such; by doing so you blunt the edge of your adversary's weapon:—

Wee flout him no lesse that toileth to prevent it, then laugh at him that is a cuckold and knowes it not . . . It is a goodly sight to draw our private misfortunes from out the shadow of oblivion or dungeon of doubt, for to blazon and proclaime them on tragicall stages; and misfortunes which pinch us not but by relation.—Book III. chap. v. p. 442, col. 2.

Zuc. As for me, my Fawn, I am a bachelor now.

Herc. But you are a cuckold still, and one that knows himself to be a cuckold.

Zuc. Right, that 's it; and I knew it not, 'twere nothing; and if I had not pursued it too, it had lyen in oblivion, and shadowed in doubt, but now I ha' blazed it.—"The Fawn," IV. i. 376-81.

There is nothing to be ashamed of in being a cuckold:—

I know a hundred cuckolds which are so honestly and little undecently. An honest man and a gallant spirit is moaned, but not disesteemed by it.—Book III. chap. v. p. 442, col. 2.

Hercules. Indeed, I must confess I know twenty are cuckolds,

honestly and decently enough; a worthy gallant spirit (whose virtue suppresseth his mishap) is lamented, but not disesteem'd by it, &c.—"The Fawn," IV. i. 385-8.

(Note that editions 1 and 3 read "cuckolds, and decently and stately enough." Mr. Bullen follows edition 2, which accords more closely with Montaigne.)

And why should humble mortals complain of being cuckolds, when it is well known that even Cæsar, Pompey, Cato, and Anthony were tarred with the same brush, and raised no objection to it?

Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompey, Anthony, Cato, and divers other gallant men were cuckolds, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it.—Book III. chap. v. p. 439, col. 2.

Zuc. I found it out that I was a cuckold!

Herc. Which now you have found, you will not be such an ass as Cæsar, great Pompey, Lucullus, Anthony, or Cato, and divers other Romans,—cuckolds, who all knew it, and yet were ne'er divorced upon 't, &c.—"The Fawn," IV. i. 357-61.

Besides,

There is none of you all but hath made one cuckold or other.—Book III. chap. v. p. 443, col. 1.

Hercules. For there is few of us but hath made some one cuckold or other, &c.—"The Fawn," IV. i. 392-3.

The saying of Gonzago in *The Fawn*, IV. i. 627-31, that "those that fortune cannot make virtuous, she commonly makes rich," is copied from the *Essays*, Book III. chap. viii. p. 476, col. 2; and the

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

speech of Hercules, in V. i. of the same play, from lines 15-20, is almost literally from Book II. chap. xv. p. 315, col. 1. At the end of Hercules' speech Dondolo enters laughing:—

> *Hercules.* Why dost laugh, fool, here 's nobody with thee?
> *Dondolo.* Why, therefore, do I laugh, because there 's nobody with me.—Ll. 27-9.

Both Marston and Webster are very skilful in making use of pithy sayings of this kind, as I have shown. The story is told by Montaigne of Miso,

> one of the seven sages (a man of a Timonian disposition and Democraticall humour) being demanded whereat he laughed alone, he answered, because I laugh alone.—Book III. chap. viii. p. 474, col. 1.

Take another instance. When Hanno has heard the tale of misfortune told by Carthalon in *Sophonisba*, I. ii., he tears his hair in the extremity of his grief.

> *Massinissa.* Old lord, spare thy hairs:
> What, dost thou think baldness will cure thy grief?—Ll. 136-7.

Now, this saying is attributed by Montaigne to Bion of Borysthenes:—

> And the philosopher Byon was very pleasant with the king, that for griefe tore his haire, when he said, "Doth this man thinke, that baldnesse will asswage his griefe?"—Book I. chap. iv. p. 9, col. 1.

Scores of such sayings are made use of by Webster, several of which are contained in Sir Francis Bacon's *Apophthegms*, and, what is rather strange, sometimes in Bacon's own special phrasing; but they are brought

into the plays so deftly that they also defy detection. Here is one:—

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a great champion of the Papists, was wont to say of the Protestants who ground upon the Scripture, "That they were like posts, that bring truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths."—Apophthegm 16.

> *Brach.* There are a number of thy coat resemble
> Your common post-boys.
> *Mont.* Ha!
> *Brach.* Your mercenary post-boys:
> Your letters carry truth, but 'tis your guise
> To fill your mouths with gross and impudent lies.
>
> "The White Devil," ll. 1350-5, p. 22, col. 1.

I do not say Webster is indebted to Bacon in this case, and only quote the saying to show how nicely it is wrought into the fabric of the play; but other cases of correspondence could be cited which would clearly prove Webster a borrower from Bacon.

Sophonisba is just as full of borrowings from Montaigne as *The Dutch Courtezan* and *The Fawn* are; but I do not think I ought to occupy more space than is necessary to prove that statement in outline. The philosophy of Act II. sc. i. from l. 1 to l. 86 is derived in great part from the *Essays*, Book III. chap. i.; and Marston was attracted to this chapter by its story of Tiberius, who refused to countenance the assassination by poison of his arch-enemy Ariminius. Mars-

ton makes Gelosso adopt a similar attitude towards the proposal of the Senate, who had decreed the same treacherous death for Massinissa. The closeness with which the play follows the essay renders it probable that the incident in *Sophonisba* was really suggested by Montaigne. To give samples of the manner in which Marston copies, I will quote the following:

Montaigne. . . . thus left he [Tiberius] the profitable for the honest . . . there is nothing in nature unserviceable, no not inutility itself; . . . In matter of policy likewise some necessary functions are not onely base, but faulty vices finde therein a seate, and employ themselves in the stitching up of our frame; as poysons in the preservation of our health. . . . The Commonwealth requireth some to betray, some to lie, and some to massaker: leave we that commission to people more obedient and more pliable. . . . I answered not long since, that hardly could I betray my Prince for a particular man, who should be very sorry to betray a particular man for my Prince. . . . Who is unfaithfull to himselfe may be excused if hee be faithlesse to his master. . . . "You may impose as heavy burdens, and harmfull taxes upon us as you please, but you lose your time to command us any shamefull or dishonest things." . . . When an urgent circumstance, or any violent or unexpected accident, induceth a prince for the necessitie of his estate, or as they say for state matters, to breake his worde and faith, or otherwise forceth him out of his ordinary duty, hee is to ascribe that necessity unto a lash of Gods rod. It is no vice, for hee hath quit his reason unto a reason more publike and more powerfull.—Pages 402-7.

In Marston thus:—

Profit and honesty are not in one state.—Line 14.

Nothing in Nature is unserviceable,
No, not even inutility itself.—Lines 56-7.

State shapes are solder'd up with base, nay faulty,
Yet necessary functions: . . .
Each hath strong use, as poison in all purges.
Lines 61-2, and 64.

. . . some must lie,
Some must betray, some murder, . . .
If treachery in state be serviceable,
Let hangmen do it.—Lines 62-3, and 81-2.

Lords, ne'er mistrust,
That he who'll not betray a private man
For his country, will ne'er betray his country
For private men;—Lines 77-9.

Our vows, our faith, our oaths, why they 're ourselves,
And he that 's faithless to his proper self
May be excus'd if he break faith with princes.—Lines 84-6.

Doubt you that old Gelosso can be vile?
States may afflict, tax, torture, but our minds
Are only sworn to Jove.—Lines 126-8.

Yet when some violent chance shall force a state
To break given faith, or plot some stratagems,
Princes ascribe that vile necessity
Unto Heaven's wrath. And sure, though 't be no vice
Yet 'tis bad chance: states must not stick too nice, &c.
Lines 65-9.

An obscure passage in *Sophonisba* is made clear by a reference to an essay in the early part of the book. For this information I am indebted to Mr. K. Deighton. It is a much better and more valuable parallel than any I have been able to bring to light:—

Massinissa. To doubt of what shall be, is wretchedness:

Desire, fear, and hope, receive no bond
By whom, we in ourselves are never but beyond.—I. ii. 82-4.

What Marston means is explained by Montaigne, whom the playwright or his printer bungled :—

We are never in our selves, but beyond. Feare, desire, and hope, draw us ever towards that which is to come, and remove our sense and consideration from that which is, &c.—Book I. chap. iii. p. 5, col. 1.

Thus far I have shown that both Webster and Marston borrowed hugely from Montaigne, and that it is incorrect to say that certain matter in *The White Devil* was taken from *The Fawn.* I turn back to Webster once more, and will try to show now that the probable date of *The Duchess of Malfi* is 1613, or about the time of the composition of *A Monumental Column.*

In my paper on Sir Philip Sidney and Webster (*Collectanea*, Ser. I. pp. 20-46) I argued that the many correspondences between *A Monumental Column* and *The Duchess of Malfi* pointed like a finger to one or nearly the same date for both. Not only do these two pieces constantly repeat each other's language and imagery, and borrow from the same authors, but they differ from *The White Devil*, which must have preceded them, and from *The Devil's Law-Case*, which most assuredly followed them. In

The White Devil no trace of *The Arcadia* is to be found, whereas distinct echoes and repetitions of matter in Sidney's book are to be found in all Webster's later work, including his *Monuments of Honour*, published in 1624. On the other hand, this *Arcadia* matter in the later work is to be found there in patches only; it does not come in "huddle upon huddle," as I have shown it occurs in *A Monumental Column* and *The Duchess of Malfi*. The later repetitions of Sidney are the results of old notes, taken by Webster years previously; and in one or two cases, as I proved, he has used his notes twice, and even three times over. On the strength of the extraordinary number of likenesses I had been able to find between the elegy and *The Duchess of Malfi*, I advocated the known date of the former (1613) for the play as well. I was very cautious in my expression of that opinion, and did not tie myself down to it. When, however, I went back to Dr. Donne's work I speedily found that there was very strong warrant for the assumption that the poem and the play are close together in point of time. These two pieces of Webster's borrow from Dr. Donne's *An Anatomy of the World*, from the *First Anniversary* as well as from the *Funeral Elegy* and the *Second Anniversary*. That being so, the date of *The Duchess of*

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

H

Malfi must be about 1612, the date of the publication of the *Anatomy* in its entirety.

Donne's evidence is corroborated by other work of contemporary writers bearing fixed dates, but I reserve that information for the present, because it throws light on the date of the composition of *The White Devil*, with which I cannot now deal. But most certainly *A Monumental Column* was late in the field, and followed Chapman's *Epicedium; or, a Funeral Song*, printed almost before Prince Henry's body was cold. Webster had read and been impressed by Chapman's elegy, and took certain hints from it for his own poem; and he evidently alludes to the *Epicedium*, as well as to elegies written by others previous to the commencement of his own. (See ll. 259-68.) On 15 February, 1613, Chapman's *The Masque of the Middle Temple* was performed at Whitehall to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth. Chapman had to part with his manuscript hurriedly; and this haste, as he informs us, caused some confusion in the presentation of the masque. Evidently Webster witnessed the performance, or saw it in print.

Honour is so much respected and adored, that she hath a temple erected to her, like a goddess; a virgin priest consecrated to her, which

is Eunomia, or Law, since *none should dare access to honour, but by virtue*, &c.

> *Plutus.* And since *to Honour none should dare access*
> *But* help'd *by virtue's* hand, &c.
>
> "The Masque," Chapman's "Plays," pp. 345-8.

Webster, after telling us that Prince Henry despised "all fans and ventoys of the court," or masques, such as that of Chapman, which was fresh in his mind, says:—

> And as Marcellus did two temples rear
> To Honour and to Virtue, plac'd so near
> They kis'd, yet *none to Honour's got access*
> *But* they that pass'd *through Virtue's*; so, &c.
>
> "A Monumental Column," ll. 102-5.

Chapman's *Masque* fixes the time before which Webster could not have begun to write his belated elegy.

Webster's elegy is really a mosaic of borrowings from various writers; and little, save its art, is Webster's own.

The opening lines of the elegy are written in imitation of the *Anatomy, First Anniversary*, especially of ll. 67-78, which are echoed again in l. 277, where Webster says,

> Whose beams shall break forth from thy hollow tomb.

Lines 15-6,

> If princes think that ceremony meet,
> To have their corpse embalm'd to keep them sweet,

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

echo *The Duchess of Malfii* :—

> all our fear,
> Nay, all our terror, is, lest our physician,
> Should put us in the ground to be made sweet.
> II., i., 70-2, p. 67, col. 1.

and, I imagine, they are not original, because Randolph has an almost identical line in his poem on the death of Lady Venetia Digby, who died in 1633. I suspect that here there is a case of borrowing from the same source:—

> Bring all the spices that Arabia yields,
> Distil the choicest flowers that paint the fields;
> And when in one their best perfections meet,
> *Embalm her corse*, that she may *make them sweet.*

Ll. 23-30 are copied almost without alteration from Ben Jonson's dedication to the same Prince Henry of his *Masque of Queens*; and one of these borrowed lines appears again in the same form in *The Duchess of Malfi*, III. ii. 299, in connexion with a passage from the *Arcadia*, which is again only slightly altered in the elegy, ll. 78-9, and paralleled once more in *Appius and Virginia*, I. ii. 12-4. The *Arcadia* and Ben Jonson parallels are more fully dealt with in my Sidney-Webster paper (*Collectanea* Ser. 1).

Lines 39-40,

> He spread his bounty with a provident hand,
> And not like those that sow th' ingrateful sand,

parallel *The White Devil*, l. 2259, p. 34, col. 2 :—

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

He spreads his bounty with a sowing hand.

and they remind one of Massinger, who uses the figure in almost the same form so many times that it has lost its nap. However, the line in *The White Devil* apparently occurs in one of the productions of Beaumont and Fletcher, for it is quoted, but without references, by George Darley, in his Introduction to the works of those authors, p. 10.

Lines 43-6,

> He was not like the mad and thriftless vine
> That spendeth all her blushes at one time,
> But like the orange-tree his fruits he bore,—
> Some gather'd, he had green, and blossoms store.

Bosola tells us that

> The orange-tree bears ripe and green fruit and blossoms all together : &c.—"The Duchess of Malfi," II. ii., 15-7, p. 69, col. 1.

and Bosola is corroborated by Bacon :—

> There be divers fruit trees in the hot countries, which have blossoms, and young fruit, and ripe fruit, almost all the year succeeding one another. And it is said the orange hath the like with us for a great part of summer, and so also hath the fig.
>
> "Sylva Sylvarum, Cent. VI., No. 581.

As Montaigne is responsible for many of the good things that appear in *The Duchess of Malfi*, it would be very surprising if we did not find a trace of the French philosopher in the elegy. And we are not disappointed. Montaigne says :—

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

They [Lucullus, Metellus, and Scipio] are deceased, and so is my father as fully as they; and is as distant from me and life in eighteene yeeres as they were in sixteene hundred; whose memorie, amitie, and societie I notwithstanding omit not to continue, to embrace and converse withall, with a perfect and most lively union.—Book III. chap. ix. p. 511, col. 1.

Webster makes fine use of this sentiment:—

> And though he died so late, he 's no more near
> To us than they that died three thousand year
> Before him; only memory doth keep
> Their fame as fresh as his from death or sleep.
>
> Ll. 120-3.

Immediately following these lines is a reference to the long life enjoyed by the stag and the raven; this comes from Donne's *Anatomy*, as other evidence will show:—

> When stag, and raven, and the long-lived tree,
> Compared with man, died in minority, &c.
>
> "Anatomy, First Ann.," ll. 115-6.

I find that I was not alone in being able to establish a relationship between Dr. Donne's *Anatomy* and Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*. As far back as 1897, Mr. R. B. McKerrow noted several parallels that I shall adduce, one of which had escaped my notice, and for which I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to him; but he never published them, and did not make them know to me until after I had commenced to write this series of articles. It may be taken for granted, then, that the parallels in Webster and

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Donne are of some value as evidence, otherwise they would not have obtained the dignity of recognition from such a ripe and cultured Elizabethan and Jacobean scholar as Mr. McKerrow. One or two of of these parallels are repeated in *A Monumental Column*, and that circumstance is of great importance in the discussion as to the date of *The Duchess of Malfi*. Donne's *Anatomy*, we know, cannot be dated earlier than 1612; and *A Monumental Column* could not, of necessity, have been commenced until after November 6 of the same year, when Prince Henry died. As Webster's poem and play borrow from Donne, and as they use precisely the same language and figures, besides taking in a literal form material from the same authors, such as Sir Philip Sidney, Montaigne, Ben Jonson, and George Chapman, they must both have been composed after the death of Prince Henry, and at or about the same time. This conclusion is warranted by an examination of Webster's work as a whole, and it is broad-sealed by the evidence of Donne. It is further corroborated by another booklet of George Chapman's, also published in 1612, under the title *Petrarchs Seven Penetentiall Psalms*, &c. As a matter of fact, I ought to have added Chapman's name to the title of these articles, but left it out for brevity's sake.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

When Chapman wrote the dedication to his booklet, Prince Henry was still living, for the poet apologises for not having submitted it to his royal patron. He dedicates it instead to Sir Edward Phillips. Some dedications are worth studying, especially Webster's. Chapman says, "I presumed to prefer *to your emptiest leisure* of reading, this poor dedication." When Webster dedicated his *Monumental Column* to Viscount Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset, he commenced with the words, "I present *to your voidest leisure* of survey these, &c. Webster's dedications are remarkable for their repetitions of phrases and references that occur in dedications penned previously by George Chapman and Ben Jonson; and therefore I should have been very much surprised if the elegy had yielded no trace of Chapman's small book, seeing that several passages of *The Duchess of Malfi* are derived from the same source. That is the point that must be kept in mind: the relation between Webster's poem and play is so intimate that, whether you view them from within or from without, by their own light or by the light that is thrown upon them by other writings, they will always be found going to the same sources for inspiration, and mutually illustrating each other.

Chapman's book consists of several poems on vari-

ous subjects. I will quote without remarks, as I wish to save space for the evidence of Dr. Donne.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

Whose life is led yet like an ignorant man's;
Are but as tools to gouty artisans
That cannot use them, &c.

"To Young Imaginaries," p. 159, col. 2.
(A. C. Swinburne).

Card. Thus
Ignorance, when it hath purchas'd honour,
It cannot wield it.

"Duchess of Malfi," II. v. 50-2, p. 73, col. 1.

Again:—

Card. 'twas just like one
That hath a little fingering on the lute,
Yet cannot tune it.

"Duchess of Malfi," II. iv. 45-7, p. 71, col. 2.

th' embroidery
Wrought on his state, is like a leprosy,
The whiter, still the fouler.

"A Great Man," p. 149, col. 1.

Ferdinand. Methinks her fault and beauty,
Blended together, show like leprosy,
The whiter, the fouler.

"Duchess of Malfi," III. iii. 76-8, p. 81, col. 1.

Plots treason and lies hid in th' actor's grave.

"A Great Man," p. 150, col. 1.

Bosola. Unless you imitate some that do plot great treasons,
And when they have done, go hide themselves i' the graves
Of those were actors in 't?

"Duchess of Malfi," V. ii. 355-7, p. 97, col. 1.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

like prick'd pictures charm'd,
And hid in dunghills.

"A Fragment," &c., p. 153, col. 2.

Duchess. . . . my picture, fashion'd out of wax,
Stuck with a magical needle, and then buried
In some foul dunghill.

"Duchess of Malfi," IV. i. 76-8, p. 85, col. 1.

Wars that make lanes through whole posterities.

"A Fragment," &c., p. 154, col. 1.

Duch. Plagues, that make lanes through largest families, &c.

"Duchess of Malfi," IV. i. 126, p. 85, col. 2.

Chapman has a similar saying in *Bussy D'Ambois*, III. i.:—

That, like a murthering piece, making lanes in armies, &c.

"Plays," p. 162, col. 1.

I repeat, the evidence of Chapman corroborates the evidence of Donne, which I will now deal with, and both these writers suggest 1613 as the date of the composition of *The Duchess of Malfi*.

The speech of the Duchess when she is about to be strangled is in part imitated from *Cymbeline*, III. iii. 4-6, and from Donne's *Anatomy*. It is a marvellously clever piece of work. The portion imitated from Donne is this:—

Come, violent death,
Serve for mandragora to make me sleep!—

IV. ii. 268-9, p. 89, col. 1.

Woman, she went away before she was one;

And the world's busy noise to overcome,
Took so much death as served for opium.

"Anatomy, A Funeral Elegy," ll. 78-80.

Note the change from *opium* to *mandragora*, because it may have been suggested by *Othello*. Shakespeare's Desdemona and Webster's Duchess both speak after they have been strangled.

Iago. Not poppy, nor *mandragora*,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
Which thou ow'dst yesterday.

"Othello," III. iii. 331-4.

Mr. McKerrow saw the next parallel, which escaped me:—

Whose twilights were more clear than our mid-day;
Who dreamt devoutlier than most use to pray.

"Anatomy, Second Ann.," ll. 463-4.

Ant. Her days are practis'd in such noble virtue,
That sure her nights, nay, more, her very sleeps,
Are more in heaven than other ladies' shrifts.

"Duchess of Malfi," I. i. 229-31, p. 61, col. 2.

The full significance of the following part of Ferdinand's curse on his sister would never be apparent to an ordinary reader without a reference to Donne:—

If thou do wish thy lecher may grow old
In thy embracements, I would have thee build
Such a room for him as our anchorites
To holier uses inhabit.

Act III. sc. ii. ll. 118-21, p. 76, col. 2.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

> Think that no stubborn, sullen anchorite,
> Which fix'd to a pillar, or a grave, doth sit
> Bedded and bathed in all his ordures, dwells
> So foully as our souls in their first-built cells.
>
> "Anatomy, Second Ann.," ll. 169-72.

See, for a repetition, Donne's *Elegy*, No. IX.

Lines just before and after those in Donne are also remembered by Webster:—

> Think but how poor thou wast, how obnoxious:
> Whom a small lump of flesh could poison thus.
> This curded milk, this poor unletter'd whelp,
> My body, &c.—Ll. 163-6.

Bosola. Thou art a box of worm-seed, at best but a salvatory of green mummy. What 's this flesh? a little crudded milk, fantastical puff-paste.

"Duchess of Malfi," IV. ii. 143-5, p. 87, col. 2.

The quartos of 1640 and 1678 read "curded" for "crudded," thus agreeing with Donne.

> Think that a rusty piece, discharged, is flown
> In pieces, &c.—Ll. 181-2.

> *Duch.* O misery! like to a rusty o'er-charg'd cannon,
> Shall I never fly in pieces?
>
> "Duchess of Malfi," III. v. 124-5, p. 83, col. 1.

The fantastical notion of comparing the Duchess's grief-stricken face to an oft-dyed garment was also suggested by Donne:—

> *Card.* I do not think but sorrow makes her look
> Like to an oft-dy'd garment.
>
> "Duchess of Malfi," V. ii. 120-1, p. 94, col. 1.

summer's robe grows
Dusky, and ike an oft-dy'd garment shows.
"Anatomy, First Ann.," ll. 355-6.

Webster's tales of what he had either heard or read, or even seen, must nearly always be taken with a grain of salt. The Pope, he says, was cured of a deep melancholy by watching the antics of madmen; the spectacle

forc'd him to laugh,
And so the imposthume broke.
"Duchess of Malfi," IV. ii. 51-2, p. 86, col. 2.

The cure was devised by "a great physician." But see Donne:—

When no physician of redress can speak,
A joyful casual violence may break
A dangerous aposthume in thy breast.
"Anatomy, Second Ann.," ll. 477-9.

Webster says of Prince Henry that

We stood as in some spacious theatre,
Musing what would become of him, his flight
Reach'd such a noble pitch above our sight, &c.
"A Monumental Column," ll. 48-50.

And he follows up this statement by a reference to an age of golden dreams. So in Donne:—

She, to whom all this world was but a stage,
Where all sat hearkening how her youthful age
Should be employ'd, because in all she did
Some figure of the golden times was hid.
"Anatomy, Second Ann.," ll. 67-70.

Montaigne, Webster, and Marston: &c.

But must we say she 's dead? may 't not be said,
That as a sunder'd clock is piecemeal laid,
Not to be lost, but by the maker's hand
Repolish'd, without error then to stand . . .
May 't not be said, that her grave shall restore
Her, greater, purer, firmer than before?
"Anatomy, A Funeral Elegy," ll. 37-46.

Webster has copied these lines in his *Elegy* as well as in *The Duchess of Malfi*; and Donne's "must we say she 's dead?" finds an answer in the reference to Prince Henry, l. 3, "we cannot say he 's dead." Thus in the play:—

Antonio. Best of my life, farewell, since we must part:
Heaven hath a hand in 't; but no otherwise
Than as some curious artist takes in sunder
A clock and watch, when it is out of frame,
To bring 't in better order.—III. v. 75-9, p. 83, col. 1.

And in the *Elegy* thus:—

Or like a dial, broke in wheel or screw,
That 's ta'en in pieces to be made go true:
So to eternity he now shall stand,
New-form'd and gloried by the all-working hand.
Ll. 241-4.

After the Donne lines in the play, just quoted, there follow passages stolen from Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Bacon, and, very possibly, Ben Jonson; and then we shake hands with Donne again:—

Ant. Heaven fashion'd us of nothing; and we strive
To bring ourselves to nothing.—Ll. 98-9.

> We seem ambitious God's whole work to undo;
> Of nothing He made us, and we strive too
> To bring ourselves to nothing back.
>
> "Anatomy, First Ann.," ll. 155-7.

I have occupied a great deal of space to prove very little, which may be summed up once more in a sentence: certain coincidences in Webster and Marston are not to be explained on the ground that one writer borrowed from the other, but that both copied Montaigne; and it is more reasonable to conclude that *The Duchess of Malfi* and *A Monumental Column* were written concurrently or nearly so, and in 1613, than to suppose that the two pieces are separated from each other by a number of years. I have closely scrutinized all dated work of Webster's authors that I could find, but not one of such works has yielded me the shade of a shadow of evidence that *The Duchess of Malfi* was written after 1613. But I have proved that it must have been written after Prince Henry's death, November 6, 1612.

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As considerable attention has been paid of late to the question whether or not Francis Bacon wrote the Shakespeare plays and poems, and as no scholar of repute deems it worth his while fully to refute the theory of the Baconians, it has occurred to me that readers may not be indisposed to listen to what I can say concerning the matter. I gave five or six years' close attention to the subject, and carefully examined the statements of those who deny the claims of Shakespeare. I will not waste many words, as—to use a Baconian phrase—I wish to "come to the matter"; but this I will say, that it seems to me that scholars are making a big mistake in allowing this question to assume such serious proportions. The lie ought to have been caught up years ago, and nailed to the counter; and it is such an easy thing to show that it is a lie, that I often wonder somebody has not proved it to be such long ere this. I am going to demonstrate that it is easy not only to refute the Baconians, but to show that they are lamentably wrong in many of their

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strongest assertions, which, moreover, prove them to be very badly versed in Elizabethan literature. Indeed, I shall have to prove that they are not only ill acquainted with contemporary writings, but that they do not even know the work of their own master—Bacon. In the course of my arguments I shall show that if Bacon wrote anything for the stage at all, in addition to masques, inquirers who are eager to add to his honours are making a great mistake in troubling themselves about the work of Shakespeare—they ought to try Ben Jonson. There is a really wonderful field open for Baconian speculation in the work—or, for the sake of the argument, the supposed work—of Ben Jonson, and if what I have to say concerning it has the effect of absorbing some of the superabundant energy of Bacon's eager followers, I shall consider that the time I have devoted to this matter has not been spent quite in vain.

Ciphers, anagrams, and cryptograms are, I regret to say, things with which I am not competent to deal—

Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos.

Things above us are not for us; such lofty matter I shall leave severely alone; but if after what I allege it can be clearly proved that Bacon used his ciphers in Shakespeare's work, then nothing will be proved

except that Bacon was a greater rogue than his contemporaries took him to be. I hope that warning will be taken to heart, for I do not say Bacon was a rogue—far from it; but it would be a pitiful thing if the followers proved the master to be such.

Now to the matter. Bacon, needless to say, was an omnivorous reader who was perpetually taking notes. Like all other men, he took notes for the purpose of lightening his labour and of refreshing his thoughts. He not only did so, but he was extremely methodical in arranging them. We are able to say so much of him, because a portion—perhaps a very small portion—of these notes has escaped the ravages of time, and is now safely deposited in the British Museum. These notes play a very considerable part in the discussion of the Bacon-Shakespeare question; they are, in point of fact, the sheet-anchor of the advocates of the Bacon authorship of the Shakespeare plays. He used them, say they, in the plays and poems ascribed to Shakespeare, but he did not, they further say, use them in his acknowledged works. Moreover, it is alleged that allusions to these notes cannot be found in any work prior to the appearance of the Shakespeare plays, or but very sparingly; and in order to prove that this is the case, it is said that contemporary literature has been carefully examined,

but with negative results. Not only so, it is asserted that the notes are of such an exclusive character, so uncommon in phrase and suggestion, that all English literature will be vainly searched to find them as we find them in the pages of Shakespeare.

It is a very pretty theory; but pity 'tis, 'tis not true. Bacon *does* use his notes in his acknowledged works; they are *not* used in the same way in Shakespeare; they are, contrary to the Baconian assertion, mostly common-places in all English literature up to the end of the seventeenth century; and they are more frequently alluded to in Ben Jonson than in Shakespeare.

Before I enter into a minute examination of the Bacon notes, I wish to draw special attention to the assertion that Bacon used the notes in the plays, but not in his acknowledged works. Does any reasonable being think that a man could so order his thoughts as to divide himself, as it were, in that way—to scatter through the plays, as one writer has it, allusions to his notes "as thick as grains of wheat through the surface of a fresh-sown field," and to ignore them so completely in his acknowledged work as to defy discovery of allusions to them? It will be my business to show that the Baconians have tried to prove too much, and that a further course of their master is a matter of urgent necessity.

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Bacon's MS. consists of about forty quarto pages; it is mostly in Bacon's own handwriting, and the title of one of the sheets, *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*, was given to the whole collection by the late Mr. Spedding. "It consists," to quote from Mr. Spedding's description, "of single sentences set down one after the other without marks between, or any notes of reference and explanation." The collection is of the most miscellaneous character, and it includes proverbs in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and Greek; verses from the Bible, and sentences from Latin authors; single words, small turns of expression, certain forms of salutation, and jottings concerning the sayings of Bacon's own friends. It remains to add that there is very little in it that is original or Bacon's own, and that the collection is mostly from books which were then in every scholar's hands.

Those who favour the Bacon authorship of the Shakespeare plays not only wish us to believe that these notes, which were put down with such care, are not used in Bacon's own work, but that they are not commonplaces. They know their master's work so well that you may take their word for it that there is little or no trace of the *Promus* entries in Bacon's acknowledged work. And, they argue, Bacon would never have collected about 1,700 say-

ings, words, &c., if they had been commonplaces, or if he had not intended using them in his work. What, then, did Bacon do with his notes? He used them, say the Baconians, in the work of Shakespeare.

A quotation from Bacon's "acknowledged work" will assist us in this part of our inquiry:—

"Therefore to speak plainly of the gathering of heads or commonplaces, I think first in general that one man's notes will little profit another, because one man's conceit doth so much differ from another's; and also because the bare note itself is nothing so much as the suggestion it gives the reader. Next I think no profit is gotten of his notes that is not judicious in that whereof he makes his notes."—"Advice to Sir F. Greville," about 1596.

The gathering of commonplaces is advocated by Bacon not only in the advice to Greville, but in several places in his work, notably in the *De Augmentis*, book vi. The notes may be commonplaces, but they must be selected with care and with particular reference to the suggestions they offer; for not only will one man's notes little profit another, but the same sayings or sentences will conjure up in another man's mind quite different trains of thought, which would be controlled by a different experience and environment. In other words, so many heads, so many wits. Now let us compare Bacon's wit with Shakespeare's.

I will first deal with one or two single words that

are noted in the *Promus*, and will quote Bacon and Shakespeare as they are quoted in Mrs. Pott's work, which seeks to show that the notes are used in the great dramatist's work.

Entry No. 1422 is as follows: "Removing (Remuant)."

Mrs. Pott could not find Bacon using the note in his acknowledged work; but, nevertheless, he did so:—

"A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover (the French hath it better *entreprenant*, or *remuant*); but the exercised fortune maketh the able man."—"Essay of Fortune."

The following passages from Shakespeare are supposed to illustrate Bacon's note:—

> She moves me not, or not removes, at least,
> Affection's edge in me.
> "Taming of the Shrew," Act I. sc. ii.
>
> Any soul removed.
> "1 Henry IV." Act IV. sc. i. l. 35.
>
> All thy safety were remotion.
> "Timon of Athens," Act IV. sc. iii.
>
> This act persuades me that this remotion is practice only.
> "Lear," Act II. sc. iv.

Under No. 1432 occurs the note "The avenues."

In illustrating the note from Shakespeare Mrs. Pott quotes many passages which use the words "gates," "pathways," "road," "way," &c., just as if these words, like "remove" and "remotion" in

the preceding instance, were peculiar to Shakespeare and Bacon; and she goes further than this, for in her preface, p. 50, she asserts that the word "avenues" is not only not in Shakespeare, but it is absent also from Bacon's prose work. I will quote from Bacon, and it will be seen that he not only has a fixed way of employing the word, but that he always associates it with the words "approaches" or "entrances."

1. "Since the last parliament, it is also notorious in every man's knowledge and remembrance that the Spaniards have possessed themselves of that avenue and place of approach for England," &c.—"Speech on the Subsidy Bill," 1597.

2. "How great the honour is, to keep the approaches or avenues of this kingdom, I hear many discourse."—"Advice to Essex," March, 1599.

3. "If physicians will learn and use the true approaches and avenues of nature," &c.—"Advancement of Learning," Book II.

4. "But their approaches and avenues are taken away."—"General Naturalization," February, 1606-7.

5. "Causeways in the avenues and entrances of the towns abroad beyond the seas."—"Charge on Opening the Court of the Verge," 1611.

Other cases could be cited to show that Bacon employs the word in the same very peculiar way.

Then there is the word "real," which is put under No. 461, and which Mrs. Pott thinks Bacon may have introduced into the English language. "Real," in the sense of "royal," was a common word in

English several hundred years before Bacon was born, and it occurs many times in Chaucer. "Real," as opposed to "nominal," was also in use in England long before Bacon was born, as witness the opposing sects of the Nominalists and the Realists. The Spanish coin, a *reale*, was also well known to Englishmen before Bacon's time. Yet Mrs. Pott, mistaking the object of Bacon's note, which is revealed by the entry that he places under it, "Forma dat esse," makes a parade of the fact that Shakespeare uses "royal" for "real," that he puns upon the coins "noble" and "real," and that he employs "real" in the sense of being opposed to "unreal." Shakespeare is quoted thus :—

> *Host.* My lord, there is a nobleman would speak to you.
> *P. Hen.* Give him as much as will make him a royal man, and send him back.—"1 Henry IV." Act II. sc. iv.

Mrs. Pott does not attempt to show that Bacon anywhere associated the Spanish coin with the English word "real," and she overlooks the fact that the dramatists of the time were often guilty of making most wretched puns on the names of coins. It was a common device to play on "angels," "ducats," &c. Thus in *The First Part of Jeronimo*, Kyd has several nonsensical puns on "ducats," which become "ducks, dainty ducks"; and in *Sir John Oldcastle* and in many

other plays money is given the cant name of "golden ruddocks" or "robin-redbreasts." Hence Shakespeare was but following a general lead, and there is nothing unusual or strange in his pun, supposing him to be connecting "royal" with the Spanish "reale"—a point which is open to serious question. He may have merely meant "royal" to stand for "kingly," or something greater in rank than a "nobleman." "Royal" in this sense is used in a somewhat similar passage by Massinger, and in relation to money:—

> *Wellborn.* I will pay you in private.
> *Order.* A royal gentleman!
> *Furnace.* Royal as an emperor!
> He'll prove a brave master; my good lady knew
> To choose a man.
> "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," Act IV. sc. ii.

The Fable of Cupid, as told by Bacon, and his interpretation of it, explain the precise use to which he meant to put his note, for there and elsewhere he associates the scholastic "real" with the Platonic dictum "Forma dat esse," as well as with his other *Promus* note, No. 765, "He came of an egge." Now if there were no other evidence to disprove Bacon's title to the Shakespeare plays and poems it could be found in this word "real," for, strange to say, it seems to have almost completely dropped out of common speech for at least fifty years before it

became the subject of Bacon's note. I have been unable to find it in any part of the writings of Peele, Greene, Marlowe, or other poets and dramatists of the same or an earlier period. Bacon and men of his acquaintance and scholars like Gabriel Harvey use it frequently. Shakespeare, on the other hand, uses "real" and its variants only five times, whereas Beaumont and Fletcher in twenty plays employ it eight times, and Ben Jonson twenty-three. I can quote sixty-nine passages from Bacon's work in which the word occurs, and have no doubt if I were to go over all his work I could find it many times more. Now if Bacon wrote the Shakespeare plays why is it that we find "real" so seldom in them? See how much closer Ben Jonson is to Bacon in his vocabulary than Shakespeare. The word does not occur in Shakespeare in any work that is known to have been written earlier than 1598, whereas it is a common word in Bacon before that time.

Bacon notes a number of small turns of expression, but for what purpose is not known, unless he intended them for use in a treatise on grammar. They are expressions that are to be found scattered throughout the writings of all persons who have used the English speech since Chaucer, and even before, some few notes only excepted, and nearly all of these can

be found in contemporary writers. I have found all or nearly all of them in Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marlowe, and other poets and dramatists of the time; indeed, they are so commonly used that without them it is hardly possible to conceive how anybody could write or speak the English language. Here is a list of some of these expressions, and anybody who cares to take the trouble to search for them will find them in common use in Shakespeare's contemporaries: "What will you?" "For the rest." "Is it possible?" "All this while." "Of grace." "Let it not displease you." "All will not serve." "Where stay we?" "I find that strange." "Not unlike." "If that be so." "It comes to that." "Well remembered." "I arrest you there." "See then how." "I cannot tell." "O, the——." "O, my." "Believe it, believe it not." There are others of a similar character; but I pick out these because they are adduced by Mr. R. M. Bucke, who asserts that they were originated by Bacon, who uses them constantly both in his acknowledged work and in the work of Shakespeare. Mrs. Pott, whose lead Mr. Bucke seems to have followed, declares that,

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"although diligent search has been made in the best works of the authors who flourished between the beginning of the sixteenth and

the middle of the seventeenth century, only two or three of the turns of expression have been traced, and these expressions are used by a very limited number of authors, and rarely by them."

Baconians who indulge in such assertions as these must imagine that people have no eyes, that all men are fools, and that everybody wishes to be deceived. "Wherefore," to quote Bacon's own words against those who do not desire real knowledge so much as to hear themselves talk, "dogmas of this nature are rather to be condemned in the mass than refuted in detail." No dramatic writer of Shakespeare's time, who produced anything like the same volume of work as he did, or something approaching to it, can be examined, who does not use every turn of expression noted by Bacon which is adduced from Shakespeare's work. And not only once, but many times.

But there are certain turns of speech noted by Bacon which are far from common in the literature of the time, and although these are habitually used by Bacon, they are altogether absent from Shakespeare's work. Everybody used the turns that I have quoted, they were hoary with age; but here is one that is uncommon.

No. 1378, "The rather, bycause. (Contynuing another's speech.)"

Mrs. Pott illustrates the entry thus:—

1. Well, you are come to me in a happy time,
The rather that I have some sport in hand.
"Taming of the Shrew," Ind. I.

2. I knew him,
The rather will I spare my praises of him.
"All 's Well that Ends Well," II. 2.

So that we may say Bacon not only intended to use his note as it is used in the plays, but that he actually invented the word "rather" as it appears in *The Taming of the Shrew* and in *All 's Well*!

What a poverty-stricken language our ancestors must have spoken, to be sure! They could not say, "Is it possible?" Nor could they utter the word "well" without a prop of other words to hold it up. This word "well" forms an entry in the *Promus*, No. 294, and Mrs. Pott, although she searched contemporary literature, as well as other literature previous to and following Shakespeare's time, and although she examined "328 known authors of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and upwards of 5,300 of their works,"—yet despite this almost superhuman feat, this labour that might have appalled a Hercules, she could only find one man, John Lyly, employing "well" alone, as a response.

Well, let me quote Bacon to show how he used his note "the rather, bycause," which appears so often in his works as a turn of expression, although

the Baconians appear to have missed it; and let the reader say if this man, who employed it so frequently, could, if he wrote Shakespeare's plays, avoid using it at least once or twice in them, or even very many times.

1. "Fair and moderate courses are ever best in causes of estate; the rather, because I wish," &c.—"To the Duke of Buckingham," March 7, 1620.

2. "Yet I am unwilling to put my sickle in another's harvest, but to leave it to the lawyers of the Scottish nation; the rather, because I imagine," &c.—"The Union of the Laws."

3. "Which maketh me presume, with good assurance, that your lordship will accept well of these my labours, the rather, because your lordship in private hath often," &c.—"To the Lord Chancellor, on sending him his book of 'The Advancement of Learning.'"

4. " . . . which (I assure yourself) I desire the rather, because, being placed," &c.—"To the Lord Chancellor, Montague, vol. iii. p. 35.

Very many more passages could be cited to show that the form of expression is a common one in Bacon; nevertheless, it is not of Bacon's invention; for it was used by others quite as early as Bacon wrote, and, like the word "real," by men who had a university education. Ben Jonson also uses it:—

1. *Tub.* The rather may you judge it to be such
Because the bridegroom was described, &c.
"A Tale of a Tub," III. i.

2. *Cic.* It shall be dearer rather, and because
I 'd make it such, hear how much, &c.
"Cataline," III. ii.

It occurs several times in Thomas Nashe and in Gabriel Harvey, as well as in Sir Philip Sidney and in *The Epistle of Martin Marprelate*, 1588.

I turn now to the forms of salutation that are noted by Bacon. There are several of these, but I will notice only the following, viz., "good-morrow," "good-day," "good-night," and "good-even." The reason for this selection will appear presently. Because Bacon notes these forms of salutation the Baconians imagine that he coined them; and Mrs. Pott draws us a harrowing picture to show how boorish our ancestors were in their manner of greeting each other. They could only exclaim, with more or less grace, "How now!" or make use of some such uncouth expression. But Bacon came into the world to put things right; he saw that everything was out of joint; and he not only invented the better part of the English language, but, to show the love and care he had for his benighted countrymen, he taught them to say "good-day," "good-morrow." Mrs. Pott ought to know, for she has searched 328 known authors and upwards of 5,300 of their works There cannot, therefore, be any doubt about the matter. Here are her words:—

"It is certain that the habit of using forms of morning and evening salutation was not introduced into England prior to the date of Bacon's notes, 1594."

Such being the case, it may be taken for granted that the following passage in Chaucer is a Baconian interpolation, and probably it contains imbedded within itself the key to a cipher which runs throughout poor Geoffrey's work :—

> Ther n'as no good day, ne no saluing,
> But streit withouten wordes rehersing,
> Everich of hem halpe to armen other,
> As frendly, as he were his owen brother.
>
> "The Knightes Tale."

As regards Beaumont and Fletcher, the following are Mrs. Pott's results in searching for forms of salutation used by the joint authors :—

"Beaumont and Fletcher in upwards of forty plays use *good-morrow* five times, *good-day* once, *good-night* four times, *good-even* once."

On the contrary, I examined only twenty plays by these authors, and my results are so very different from those of Mrs. Pott that I can only conclude I had on magnifying glasses, or that I saw things through a very hazy medium. Tears will cause that kind of double or even treble sight :—

> Upon his hurt she looks so steadfastly,
> That her sight dazzling makes the wound seem three ;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For oft the eye mistakes, the brain being troubled.
>
> *Baconspeare's* "Venus and Adonis," st. 178.

I must have been weeping at the dethronement of *Shagspur*. Seeing, however, that I took some trouble

about the matter, I cannot bring myself to withhold my figures from a gullible public. The people like to be deceived, and many will no doubt accept my statement in preference to that of Mrs. Pott. Nothing venture, nothing have.

In twenty plays Beaumont and Fletcher use *good-morrow* forty-seven times, *good-day* twelve times, *good-night* forty-five times, and *good-even* thirteen times. In the same plays they employ the variations *God save you and good-morrow* once, *God speed you and good-day* once, and *sweet-night* three times. The plays I examined are those contained in the first volume of "The Old Poets" edition.

Since I commenced this series of papers a copy of Dr. R. M. Theobald's recent book, *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, has come into my hands, and I have been invited to notice and reply to it. I accept the invitation.

From a literary point of view Dr. Theobald's book is a piece of good work, and he has made the best of a very bad case. His parallels from Bacon and Shakespeare are at times striking and interesting—almost as striking and interesting as those which I have been able to find in several other authors whose works I have compared with Bacon. If they are not so valuable as those which can be

picked out of the work of other contemporary authors, the fault is solely, or almost solely, attributed to the fact that Shakespeare did not trouble himself to make an acquaintance with what Bacon had written; or that he was not conversant with the Latin, Greek, and other foreign authors with whom Bacon was familiar. As Ben Jonson has said, Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin was "small," and his acquaintance with Greek "less." His learning was derived mostly from translations or was cribbed from English writers.

Dr. Theobald's work displays an intimate knowledge of the writings of Bacon and Shakespeare, as was to be expected; but the fault of his whole argument is that he ignores the writings of other authors of the period. Shakespeare and Bacon occupy the whole of his mental vision, and beyond them he can see nothing. Hence we find him adducing a long list of words, phrases, and even common English proverbs to show that the dramatist must have had an intimate acquaintance with Latin and Greek authors in the original. If Dr. Theobald had taken the trouble to compare Shakespeare as closely with other writers of his own or earlier days as he has done with Bacon, he would have discovered that his book is a waste of good paper. The vocabulary of Shake-

speare, which has called forth such a learned treatise as that of Dr. Theobald, was the vocabulary of the time; and the learning in the plays and poems, which startles the Baconians to-day, is that of the period also. All that need excite wonder in Shakespeare is the consummate art of the craftsman; and if we find him using strange words or phrases which cannot be found in other and earlier writers, we may assume, for the want of a better explanation, that he coined them.

I will now show that Dr. Theobald's researches have not extended far enough, and that he has credited Shakespeare with an amount of erudition to which the poet could lay no claim. Shakespeare was merely a scholar well versed in the commonplaces of his time, and he could get all or nearly all his knowledge of Latin and Greek authors from works written by English writers.

Many times in Shakespeare we find him making use of the proverb that companionship in misery eases grief. In *Lucrece* the sentiment is expressed thus :—

> It easeth some, though none it ever cured,
> To think their dolour others have endured.
>
> Stanza 226, ll. 1581-2.

These lines, according to Dr. Theobald, are evidently a translation of a Latin motto in *Faustus*,

published in 1604, ten years after the appearance of *Lucrece*. Here it is necessary to observe that Dr. Theobald claims the whole of Marlowe's work for Bacon, in addition to that of Shakespeare, consequently he makes a point of emphasizing the assertion that the *Lucrece* lines are merely the translation of the Latin proverb, which was *probably invented* by Bacon :—

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

Dr. Theobald argues that as Bacon *probably invented* the *Faustus* motto, which has not been traced to a Latin author, he translated his own saying in *Lucrece*. The argument assumes not only that Bacon wrote *Lucrece* and *Faustus*, but that the proverb was new when it appeared in the poem. "How it came to appear in *Lucrece*," he says, "is an enigma which awaits its solution." Prodigious!

Now this proverb, in precisely the same Latin form, occurs in Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, and in Lodge's *Rosalind*, 1590; and its equivalent in English is thus expressed in John Lyly's *Euphues*, 1579: "In misery, Euphues, it is a great comfort to have a companion" (Arber, p. 96). *Euphues* was one of Shakespeare's favourite books, and he borrows from it in several of his plays, especially in *Love's Labour 's Lost* and in *Henry IV*. But the proverb itself was

musty with age when *Lucrece* was written, and it had become hackneyed by common usage.

"One of Bacon's frequently recurring aphorisms is that sunshine penetrates even dunghills and *cloacæ*, and yet is not thereby defiled." So Dr. Theobald, who devotes more than four pages of his book to show that this rusty old saying is referred to by both Bacon and Shakespeare. There are at least three allusions to it in *Euphues*:—

"Cæsar never rejoyced more, then when hee heard that they talked of his valyant exploits in simple cottages, alledging this, that a bright Sunne shineth in every corner, which maketh not the beames worse, but the place better," &c.—Arber, p. 255.

"It is the disposition of the thought, that altereth the nature of the thing. The Sunne shineth upon the dounghil, and is not corrupted," &c.—P. 43.

"Bicause you are brave, disdaine not those that are base, thinke with your selves that russet coates have their Christendome, that the Sunne when he is at his hight shineth aswel upon course carsie, as cloth of tissue," &c.—P. 443.

Bacon attributes a saying to Mr. Bettenham,

"that riches were like muck; when it lay upon an heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground then it was cause of much fruit."—"Apophthegms."

Now Bacon did not mean to state that this was an original saying of Mr. Bettenham's, he merely notices it because it was so often in Mr. Bettenham's mouth. Dr. Theobald was not able to bring a strictly par-

allel passage from Shakespeare, but he adduces one from *Coriolanus*, where wealth or the spoils captured in battle are contemptuously spoken of as

> The common *muck* of the world.
> Act II. sc. ii. l. 128.

Although Shakespeare does not make an open use of the proverb, it could hardly be unknown to him, for it occurs in the ballad of *Gernatus*, *the Jew of Venice*, which furnished hints for *The Merchant of Venice* :—

> His life was like a barrow hogge,
> . . . .
> Or like a filthy heap of dung,
> That lyeth in a whourd ;
> Which never can do any good,
> Till it be spread abroad.
> Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry."

Ben Jonson, too, alludes to the proverb :—

> *Sord.* Though hitherto amongst you I have lived,
> Like an unsavoury muck-hill, to myself,
> Yet now my gather'd heaps, being spread abroad,
> Shall turn to better and more fruitful uses.
> "Every Man out of his Humour," Act III. sc. ii.

Mrs. Pott would not allow that Bacon used many of his *Promus* notes in his acknowledged work, but Dr. Theobald admits that at least 500 of them can be traced. In his book Dr. Theobald has made out a list of such notes as have been traced by Baconians;

but it is quite clear from this list that the followers have been too busy groping blindly into other men's works to be able to find time to devote to the master himself. Hundreds of notes, some of which Bacon uses many times over, are not mentioned in Dr. Theobald's list. It is very strange that so many willing workers, in all parts of the world, who profess to know Bacon's work so well, should be ignorant of matters which so vitally concern Bacon's own work; for I need hardly observe that a thorough knowledge of the manner in which a man uses his notes is absolutely necessary in cases where it is desired to reclaim other work, supposed to be his. The omission to work the *Promus* properly with Bacon is so strange to me that I often ask myself whether the Baconians have essayed the task and stopped short because they perceived that such conscientious work would be fatal to their theories.

One note very frequently used by Bacon, and which Baconians could not help recording, although they fail to remark on the marvellous number of times it figures in the master's work, is the following: 375. "Declinat cursus aurumque volubile tollit." Bacon's note, of course, has reference to the fable of Atalanta and Hippomenes, which he details and explains in *The Wisdom of the Ancients.*

He uses this note in the *Advancement of Learning*, in the *De Augmentis*, in *Filum Labyrinthi*, twice in the *Interpretation of Nature*, and twice in the *Novum Organum*, besides elsewhere; and each time that he uses it he does so in a fixed manner. In the *Novum Organum*, he, in a manner, excuses his fondness for the illustration, for he brings it in with the remark "to use a common allusion of ours." The following quotation shows how Bacon uses his *Promus* jottings:—

"But here by use and action, we do not mean the applying of knowledge to lucre, for that diverts the advancement of knowledge, as the golden ball thrown before Atalanta, which, while she stoops to take up, the race is hindered.

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit."

"Advancement of Learning," Book I.

Surely, if Bacon wrote Shakespeare, we should be able to find something better to fit the *Promus* entry than the following, which Mrs. Pott, who forgot, or did not know, that Bacon used his note, and used it often, adduces from the plays: "You have a nimble wit: I think 'twas made of Atalanta's heels" (*As You Like It*, Act III. sc. ii.).

Besides, among Shakespeare's contemporaries the allusion to the fable is very common, Lyly referring to it many times. Here is one case:—

"Let Atalanta runne never so swiftelye, shee will looke back upon Hyppomanes."—"Euphues and his England," 1580.

If the following occurred in Shakespeare it would be fatal to his claims, and a large library would be speedily stocked with the books that would dethrone him:—

The onely enemie to sloth is contention and emulation; as to propose one man to my selfe, that is the onely myrrour of our age, and strive to out goe him in vertue. But this strife must be so tempred, that we fal not from the eagernes of praise, to the envying of their persons; for, then, we leave running to the goale of glorie, to spurne at a stone that lyeth in our way; and so did Atlante, in the midst of her course, *stoup to take up* the golden apple her enemie scattered in her way, and was out-runne by Hippomenes."—Thomas Nashe, "Pierce Penilesse, 1592.

Dr. Theobald deals with the following *Promus* notes:—403, 1,168, "Art of forgetting"; 114, 1,232, "Well to forget"; and remarks:—

Artificial forgetfulness is not, I believe, referred to in the prose works: nor is it likely to appear except in *Works of Invention*, but it is frequent in Shakespeare.

Now, "artificial forgetfulness" *is* referred to in the prose works; it does *not* occur in *Works of Invention*, and Bacon's manner of using his note is not only characteristic of himself, but it is altogether different from the manner of Shakespeare. The note is used in a letter from Essex to the Queen, written by Bacon:—

And, indeed, madam, I had never thought it possible that your majesty could have so disinterested yourself of me; nor that you had

been so perfect in *the art of forgetting*, &c.—Montague, vol. iii. p. 55, col. 1.

Passages illustrative of the art of forgetting are to be found not only in Shakespeare, but in almost every writer of the time. In Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book II., Pyrocles, after making a hasty rejoinder to Philoclea, regrets his speech, and Sidney writes, "And then he fain would have *remembered to have forgot* himself." The saying was a proverbial one, and it occurs in Young's *Night Thoughts*, iv. l. 57:—

> I've been so long remembered I'm forgot;

and, more closely, Dr. Wolcot's *George III*:—

> "Remember to forget to ask Mr. Whitbread to dinner."

Frequently we come across notes in the *Promus* which, at first sight, seem to be original or Bacon's own; but further research proves them to be merely common sayings. The following is a good case:—

> No. 152. All is not in years, to me; somewhat is in houres well spent.

Bacon uses the note several times, and in a variety of ways; nevertheless the Baconians, who have the sight of eagles for coincidences, or what they believe to be coincidences, in Shakespeare and Marlowe, have been as blind as moles once more. They do not seem to think that Bacon was wise when he wrote that it is better to milk the standing cow than to make a blind rush after the cows that are running

away. For the sake of comparison I will quote one passage from Bacon and one that Mrs. Pott adduced from Shakespeare :—

The Bacon-Shakespeare Question.

I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them.—Essay of "Death."

I am only old in judgment and understanding.—"2 Henry IV." Act I. sc. ii.

The Shakespeare quotation is a threadbare saying, and it has no relation to the *Promus* entry. The saying in the *Promus* is from Seneca, and it is alluded to twice in *Euphues*; Ben Jonson, too, makes use of it in *Catiline* :—

The chiefe beauty of life consisteth not in the numbering of dayes, but in the using of vertuous dooings.—"Euphues," p. 183.

Cicero. The vicious count their years, virtuous their acts.—"Catiline," Act III. sc. i.

Dr. Theobald devotes much space in his book to the learning and diction of Shakespeare, which, he says, have caused much perplexity to his critics and biographers. He adduces many examples of Latin construction, and of words and phrases which may be traced to classic sources; and he argues that his evidence conclusively proves that the poet not only wrote according to the usages of Latin grammar, but that his own language would not have permitted him to express himself in the manner he does if the

Latin had not taken such a strong possession of his mind.

The constructions, the words, the phrases, and the learning which have such a strong Latin—and sometimes Greek—aroma about them are only what one meets with in all writers of the period; and they merely indicate that in making use of them the poet was following in the footsteps of a host of scholars, whose training through a long series of generations had gradually evolved the speech that was ready to his hand.

The writer of the plays and poems, according to Dr. Theobald, coined words. A long list of such words is given, all, or nearly all, of which can be found in contemporary and earlier authors. The following will show how much reliance is to be placed upon the list. They are but samples.

Acknown.—This word only occurs once in Shakespeare, in *Othello*, III. iii. 319, and Dr. Theobald thinks it is probably an attempt by the author to bring the Latin word *agnosco* into the language. *Othello* was composed in or about 1604, yet Puttenham, about 1589, and Kyd, about 1593, both use the word:—

I would not have a translatour to be ashamed to be acknowen of his translation.—"Arte of English Poesie," Arber, p. 260.

But ours of others will not be acknowne.

"Cornelia," Act II. i. 229, Boas.

Moreover, in this case, as in many others, a little trouble would have saved Dr. Theobald from making an egregious blunder. There are hills beyond Pentland. *Acknown* is the past participle of *acknowe*, O.E. *oncnawan*, to recognize.

Document.—In *Hamlet*, IV. v. 178, Shakespeare uses the word "in its classic and etymological sense, from Latin *doceo*, teach; give a lesson or instruction; *documentum* = a lesson, or example, &c."

A document in madness.

Dr. Theobald quotes cases of the use of the word from Spenser and Sir Walter Raleigh, both of whom wrote much earlier than Shakespeare did in *Hamlet*. Some say that Bacon also wrote Spenser's work; and perhaps Dr. Theobald wishes us to infer that he wrote Raleigh's *History of the World* as well. Raleigh had many contributors, and Bacon may have been among the number. However, *document*, as used in *Hamlet*, is respectable old English, and it occurs in a curious old play with the funny title *The longer thou livest, the more fool thou art*, *circa* 1553-8:—

Conscience accuseth the folish beast,
That he hath forsaken wholsom document.

Ll. 961-2 ("Jahrbuch," vol. xxxvi. p. 40).

Probation.—Shakespeare in this case uses this word

and others "with a meaning different from that which they ordinarily convey, and which could not have been attributed to them by any one who was not thoroughly informed as to the precise powers of their Latin originals." *Ergo*, all men in Shakespeare's time and before who used words derived from the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Dutch, and other languages which helped to enrich English, were "thoroughly informed as to the precise powers of their" originals. It is a wonderful argument! To resume, in Shakespeare *probation* sometimes means to prove, like the Latin *probare* :—

> So prove it,
> That the probation bear no hinge, nor loop,
> To hang a doubt on.
>
> "Othello," III. iii. 365-7.

Again I turn to the curious old play with the queer title, and I find *probation* used as Shakespeare uses it :—

> Have we not had manifest probation,
> Have not men of God beene put to silence?
>
> Ll. 1206-7 ("Jahrbuch," p. 46).

Now for a case where Shakespeare is supposed to have consulted Plato in the original Greek. I select it because it has the place of honour in Dr. Theobald's book, being his first shot; and because it is believed to be a poser.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 95-123, and in *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 51-70, there are distinct allusions to the Platonic idea "that the eye sees not itself, but from some other thing, for instance a mirror. But the eye can see itself also by reflection in another eye," &c. The passage occurs in *First Alcibiades*, which Dr. Theobald asserts was not translated when Shakespeare was living. I need hardly observe that it is possible to get ideas, whether in the original Greek or Latin, without going to the originals or to translations for them. Very little that is good in Greek or Latin authors had been allowed to sleep in its old garb by the many thousands of English scholars who had mastered those languages; and consequently our old literature abounds with a variety of information, more or less complete, drawn direct from original sources. Hence, although there may not have been a set translation of Plato's work ready to Shakespeare's hand when he incorporated that author's ideas in his plays, it does not follow that the idea could not have been extracted from an English writer, and in terms precisely parallel to those employed in the original Greek. Now it is a very curious fact, and one which I always bear in mind when trying to fix the date of any of his compositions, that the books or other matter which had most recently attracted or im-

pressed Shakespeare are the very ones from which he will borrow or to which he will allude; and it sometimes happens that such works will not have been issued from the press many months or even weeks before the registration or acting of some of his poems or plays. Here we have a case in point. Let us look at some dates. *Troilus and Cressida* was composed in or about 1603, *Julius Cæsar* in or about 1600; both plays were most certainly written after April, 1599, the date of the registration of Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*. Now it was not from Plato at all that Shakespeare obtained his idea and the phraseology in which he clothed it, but from the poem of Sir John Davies, who expounds it at great length. The passages necessary to establish the fact that Shakespeare borrowed from Sir John Davies would take up too much room, and it is not necessary to my argument to prove the borrowing in this case. The suggestion is that the Platonic idea must have been derived from the original Greek, and that Shakespeare's ignorance of the latter precluded him from consulting Plato, whose work was not then translated. Consequently, say the Baconians, Shakespeare did not write *Troilus and Cressida* and *Julius Cæsar*. If I can show that Plato's idea is expressed in parallel language in *Nosce Teipsum*, I shall have proved

that Shakespeare had no need to consult original sources, and that the argument of the Baconians is altogether out of court.

> Is it because the Mind is like the Eye,
> (Through which it gathers Knowledge by degrees)
> Whose rays reflect not, but spread outwardly;
> Not seeing itself, when other things it sees?
>
> Arber's "English Garner," vol. v. p. 144.

> That Power (which gave me eyes, the world to view)
> To view myself, infused an Inward Light,
> Whereby my Soul, as by a Mirror true,
> Of her own form, may take a perfect sight.
>
> But as the sharpest Eye discerneth nought,
> Except the sunbeams in the air do shine;
> So the best Soul, with her reflecting thought,
> Sees not herself, without some light divine.
>
> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

Other cases of supposed borrowing from Greek and Latin sources, which Dr. Theobald adduces, could be disposed of more effectually than this one, and I need not travel beyond Lyly's *Euphues* for material to prove how utterly unsafe it would be to follow the lead of Dr. Theobald, who, apparently, has not extended his studies in old English literature beyond Shakespeare and Bacon.

Up to the present I have made but little attempt to illustrate passages in Bacon by others in Ben Jonson, and I have deliberately refrained from doing so,

as it has been my object to show that the *Promus* notes and other matter adduced by Baconians can be paralleled out of the work of all writers of that or an earlier period. There is little or nothing that is new in the *Promus*; and the vocabulary, phrasing, and learning displayed in Shakespeare's work are commonplace. The examples that I dealt with, except in one or two cases, were chosen because of their supposed difficulty; and almost invariably they prove not only that Shakespeare was not necessarily a Latin and Greek scholar, but that the Baconians had not mastered Bacon's own work. That is a point worth remembering. These men, who pretend to know so much about their master's work, are apparently wilfully ignorant of vital matters with which they should be acquainted; and they either do not know or pretend not to know that Bacon's notes and other matter which they adduce to dethrone Shakespeare are commonplaces. If they had honestly worked the *Promus* with other writers, such as John Lyly, Robert Greene, Beaumont and Fletcher, or with any other authors who produced work equal in volume to that of Shakespeare, they would have known that the work of Mrs. Pott is a huge joke, and that the attempt to filch Shakespeare's work from him is a task beyond their strength. The manner in which

Shakespeare is made to furnish parallels for the *Promus* is sometimes highly diverting; as, for instance, when we find the same passage at one time doing duty as an English proverb, then as an allusion to a Bible sentence, next as an adaptation of Ovid, and, finally, grinning under a French proverb. That kind of thing very frequently occurs in Mrs. Pott's work, which is full of gross inaccuracies and wild assertions. However, I saw it would never do to let the chance of a complete answer to the Baconian case slip by, and therefore, as Mrs. Pott had taken the trouble to illustrate the *Promus* by copious extracts from Shakespeare, I thought it would be wise to follow suit by showing that other men's work was equally, or even more, fruitful of parallels; and as the entries are nearly all commonplaces, the task, although laborious, was not difficult of achievement. I tried Marlowe, Spenser, Lyly, and Beaumont and Fletcher, and found they were all strong "Baconians"; but finally I selected Ben Jonson, not because he used or paralleled the *Promus* entries more frequently than others, but because he was a close student of Bacon and copied from him. The Baconian case is centred in the assertion that the repetitions in Bacon and Shakespeare are not commonplaces; and that the learning they display proves not only that the plays and poems

are by a profound Greek and Latin scholar, but that that scholar must have been Bacon. Ben Jonson is constantly mentioned by them as one whose work is in striking contrast to that of Shakespeare, and Mrs. Pott could hardly find a single line in his work to parallel any of the *Promus* entries. Well, let readers judge for themselves. The work of Ben Jonson is that of a man who was steeped to the lips in classical authors; consequently we shall find him repeating the learning of Bacon with a literalism that is almost painfully different from Shakespeare, whose knowledge of the classics was derived almost entirely through English channels. Once or twice only does Shakespeare happen to bring into his plays Latin tags noted by Bacon, although they can be found by the score in others; but in Ben Jonson they abound, and not unfrequently in a context that is manifestly stolen from Bacon.

There is no evidence to prove conclusively that Bacon and Shakespeare ever met, or were acquainted with each other. But the case of Ben Jonson is different. Jonson at one time acted as a kind of secretary to Bacon, and translated, or assisted to translate, his essays into Latin. Jonson's *Discoveries*, moreover, prove that he had often been in Bacon's company. The fact that Bacon and Jonson were known to each

other is not disputed; but it is not known, even by those who are most versed in Bacon's work, that certain entries in the *Promus* have a direct relation to Ben Jonson's masques and plays. I will deal with these entries in the proper place. All I urge now is that if parallels can be used to filch from a man the work that was universally assigned to him by contemporaries—if we *must* ignore all tradition, and the voice of a cloud of witnesses—if gross and palpable differences in the style of writers are to count for nothing—then Shakespeare must be thrown overboard by the Baconians, and they must elect Ben Jonson in his place, because Jonson repeats Bacon much more nearly than Shakespeare does, and because, on their own showing, the writer of the Jonson plays is a different man from the writer of the Shakespeare plays and poems. Shakespeare *does not* and *cannot be made to* illustrate many of the *Promus* entries in the way that Bacon and Jonson illustrate them; and the ludicrous manner in which Mrs. Pott essayed the task only serves to show that it is an easy matter to prove by such parallels that Bacon must have written everything that had been penned up to his time, including the Bible, and not forgetting that portion of it which is entitled the Book of Judges. For it is a truth, and one that we should ponder over

when we begin to flatter ourselves and imagine what clever people we are, that the range of our thoughts is extremely limited, and that the number of essentially different ideas that man is capable of expressing or of cogitating in his mind is about on a par with the number of the letters of the alphabet. These ideas, like the letters of the alphabet, which can be made to represent all sounds and all knowledge, are simply capable of being expanded and varied by an infinite number of combinations; yet, when all is said, it comes to this, that the greatest of the philosophers and the most lofty of the poets cannot express a thought which cannot be paralleled out of the crude notions of the ignorant ploughman. It is, therefore, easy to explain why Shakespeare can be made to illustrate, with more or less faithfulness, the things which Bacon noted in his *Promus*, or which have been brought from his prose works. Mrs. Pott thinks it a legitimate thing to parallel a Greek saying with a time-worn English proverb, or a Bible sentence with a bit of Ovid or of Virgil which Shakespeare caught up from some English writer, and to use the same passage many times over and under various headings which only agree in containing the same notion in a more or less crude form. I say again, if one is to decide on parallels of that kind, then Bacon

must have written everything that had been written up to his time and during the time that he lived. Is it any wonder, then, that the critics who work upon such a plan as that, and who, just as the ostrich when it sees an enemy buries its head in the sand, refuse to read or else ignore the writings of all other men because they would convict them, confining their reading to Shakespeare and Bacon—is it any wonder that they are able to present a specious case against Shakespeare and impose on men who either have not the time or lack the critical faculty to see through their false and preposterous resemblances? Bacon calls that kind of work legerdemain, and he compares it to the tricks of tumblers, who only thrive till their tricks are known.

The Baconian parallels prove nothing, except that Shakespeare and Bacon made use of the same proverbs, phrases, and learning as were current in all writings of the time. They do not even prove that either writer was ever aware of the work performed by the other; and such evidence as has been adduced to connect the two is not nearly of such force as the evidence that could be marshalled from such writers as Sir Philip Sidney, John Lyly, or Beaumont and Fletcher, besides others who could be named, who were either read by Bacon, or were impressed by what he had written.

The Bacon-Shakespeare Question.

I will now compare Bacon with Ben Jonson, and show how vastly different is the kind of evidence that can be made to connect these two writers from that which Baconians adduce to connect Shakespeare and Bacon. Baconians may say that Ben Jonson copied their master, or *vice versâ*; they may even assert, if they so choose, that Bacon wrote all Ben Jonson's work, or largely assisted to produce it.

Bacon's work and Bacon's phrasing are echoed and repeated throughout the work of Ben Jonson. I can best prove this statement by confining myself almost exclusively to Jonson's *Discoveries*. These *Discoveries* are laboured notes, written at times of leisure, and when Jonson was fresh from the study of various authors; and they are, as is to be expected in the case of notes of such a character, often used, and in exactly the same form, in his other writings, especially in the dedications and addresses prefixed to his plays and masques. The same statement partly applies to the *Underwoods*, *The Forest*, and the *Epigrams*. Traces of Bacon can be found in many of these poems; and some of them, particularly the songs, are to be found incorporated in the author's dramatic writings, unaltered, or split up and assigned to various speakers. Baconians often make a point of telling us that Jonson uses identical words in speaking of Shakespeare and Bacon; but such critics have

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not learnt the A B C of Jonson's method of composition. He constantly repeats himself, and such repetitions prove nothing as regards identity of persons. Parallels of that kind are double-edged, and those who press them are in danger of cutting their fingers, as could be shown if space permitted.

The title of the *Discoveries* points like a finger to the author who is principally responsible for the tone and character of the notes. They are styled *Timber, or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter, as they have flowed out of his Daily Readings, or had their Reflux to his Peculiar Notions of the Times.* The title is headed with the word *Sylva*, and in a Latin sentence which follows the English title we find the word *supellex.* Note the *Sylva* and *supellex.* Now this title and the complexion of Jonson's notes were clearly suggested by Bacon.

> These arts are composed of rules and directions, for setting forth and methodising the matter of the rest, and, therefore, for rude and blank minds, who have not yet gathered that which Cicero styles *sylva* and *supellex* matter, &c.—"De Aug.," Book II. chap. 1.

The evidence warrants us in saying that many of these *Discoveries* flowed out of Jonson's reading of Bacon; and the notes in which Jonson mentions Bacon not only prove that he was almost spellbound by the mighty powers of the great philosopher, but

they are expressed in language and illustrated by images drawn from Bacon's own work. Nevertheless, although he professes in these notes to refer to Bacon's writings and speeches, he does not copy or quote Bacon more closely in them than he does in many of his other *Discoveries.*

Here is a quotation from the *Address to the Reader* prefixed to *The Alchemist.* It is made up of parts of two *Discoveries*, bits of which are transposed to accord with the structure of the address, and every word of it, save the linking phrases, copies the notes verbatim. Not only so, the notes and the address repeat Bacon :—

> For they commend writers, as they do fencers or wrestlers ; who if they come in robustuously, and put for it with a great deal of violence, are received for the braver fellows : when many times their own rudeness is the cause of their disgrace, and a little touch of their adversary gives all that boisterous force the foil. I deny not, but that these men, who always seek to do more than enough, may sometime happen on something that is good, and great ; but very seldom : and when it comes it doth not recompense the rest of their ill. It sticks out, perhaps, and is more eminent, because all is sordid and vile about it ; as lights are more discerned in a thick darkness, than a faint shadow. I speak not this, out of hope to do good to any man against his will ; for I know, if I were put to the question of theirs and mine, the worse would find more suffrages : because the most favour common errors. But I give this warning, that there is a great difference between those, that, to gain the opinion of copy, utter all they can, however unfitly ; and those that use election and a mean. For it is only the disease of the unskilful, to think rude things greater than polished ; or scattered more numerous than composed.

The *Discoveries* that are mingled in this quotation are headed *Ingeniorum Discrimina* and *Cestius.—Cicero*, &c. Other parts of the quotation parallel Bacon's work, but I will now deal with the concluding sentence only. In the *Discoveries* the passage runs thus:—

But in these things the unskilful are naturally deceived, and judging wholly by the bulk, think rude things greater than polished; and scattered more numerous than composed.

Jonson here distinctly alludes to the Baconian "colour," with its reprehension that

that which consists of more parts, and those divisible, is greater, and more one than what is made up of fewer; for all things when they are looked upon piecemeal seem greater; when also a plurality of parts make a show of bulk considerable, which a plurality of parts affects more strongly, if they be in no certain order; for it then resembles an infinity, and hinders the comprehending of them.—"Colours of Good and Evil," v., and "De Aug.," Book VI. c. iii. sophism xii.

That there can be no manner of doubt about the allusion is further proved by the concluding *Discoveries*, which go under the general title *Of the Magnitude and Compass of any Fable, Epic or Dramatic*. These latter boldly copy Bacon's colour and its answer throughout. But the passages are too long to quote here, and therefore I must leave readers to compare the two authors for themselves, and turn to other matter which is capable of more concise treatment.

I think I have now shown that in his *Discoveries* Jonson copied Bacon's ideas concerning a whole and its parts, as handled in the *Colours of Good and Evil*, the *De Augmentis*, and elsewhere; I will next show that he copied the Essays.

Bacon says:—

> Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man.—"Essay of Studies."

Similarly in Jonson we find:—

> But that which we especially require in him [the poet] is an exactness of study, and multiplicity of reading, which maketh a full man.—"Discoveries: iv. Lectio."

Several *Promus* notes are used by Bacon in his *Essay of Counsel*, and the same notes or quotations reappear in Jonson in the same connexion. This kind of thing constantly occurs throughout Jonson, and when one compares what can be brought from his work to parallel Bacon, and then puts such results by the side of the so-called parallels adduced by Mrs. Pott and Dr. Theobald, the contrast is not only glaring, but supremely ridiculous.

Bacon says:—

> It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to till the next day; *in nocte consilium*, &c.—"Essay of Counsel."

In Jonson thus:—

And not to counsel rashly, or on the sudden, but with advice and meditation *(Dat nox consilium)*. —"Discoveries : Obsequentia," &c.

A favourite saying of Bacon's was that books or the dead are the best counsellors. He quotes the Latin of this saying in the *Essay of Counsel*, and Jonson imitates him very closely :—

It was truly said, *Optimi consiliarii mortui :* books will speak plain when counsellors blanch.

Compare :—

And how can he be counselled that cannot see to read the best counsellors (which are books) ; for they neither flatter us nor hide from us ?—"Discoveries : Illiteratus," &c.

Again, in the same essay, Bacon says that

the true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature ; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.

The passage is related to *Promus* entry No. 104 :—

Cunning in the humours of persons, but not in the conditions of actions.

Bacon uses the note many times, and Jonson imitates him in the following as well as elsewhere :—

In being able to counsel others, a man must be furnished with an universal store in himself . . . But especially you must be cunning in the nature of man, &c.—"Discoveries : Cognit. univers."

Bacon's *Novum Organum*, his *Advancement of Learning*, and other works are all imitated in the *Discoveries*, which are full of so-called *Promus* notes,

which Baconians believe to be unique or only to be found in Shakespeare and Bacon.

Some passages in Jonson which parallel Bacon have to be searched for, and they will never be apparent to a hasty reader. Here is a case :—

> There is a great variation between him that is *raised* to the sovereignty by the favour of his peers, and him that comes to it by the suffrage of the people. The first holds with more difficulty; because he hath to do with many that think themselves his *equals*, and *raised* him for their own greatness and oppression of the rest. The latter hath no *upbraiders*, &c.—"Discoveries : Principum varia," &c.

Jonson's note is really a paraphrase of Bacon's *Essay of Envy*, and it distinctly echoes such passages of the essay as the following :—

> Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their *equals* when they are *raised*; for it doth *upbraid* unto them their own fortunes, &c.

In this essay, too, we find Bacon saying that

> a man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious.

Compare

> *Fame.* Commonly
> The Curious are ill-natured.—"Time Vindicated."

And again :—

> The vulgar are commonly ill-natured and grudging against their governors.—"Discoveries : Vulgi mores," &c.

Baconians have not been able to find their master using his *Promus* note No. 399, "Numbering, not weighing." They have been too busy numbering

their marvellous assortment of Bacon-Shakespeare parallels, which no scales will ever be able to weigh properly. I will assist them, and illustrate Bacon by Jonson at the same time:—

It is hard in all causes, but especially in matters of religion, when voices shall be numbered and not weighed.—"Controversies of the Church," 1589.

Suffrages in parliament are numbered, not weighed.—"Discoveries: Comit.," &c.

In his *Notes for an Interview with the King*, March, 1621-2, Bacon employs another *Promus* note:—

Of my offence, far be it from me to say, *dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.*

The sentence is from Juvenal, and it occurs in Jonson:—

The net was never spread for the hawk or buzzard that hurt us, but for the harmless birds; they are good meat: *Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.*—"Discoveries: Fures publici."

In his *Apophthegms* Bacon relates the story of the feast at Athens at which Zeno made his memorable reply to the ambassador who asked him what he should say to his master concerning him (Zeno):—

Report to your lord, that there are of the Grecians that can hold their peace.

Jonson relates the same story in the *Discoveries: Homeri Ulysses*; and it is to be found in almost the same words in John Lyly's *Euphues*, Arber, p. 146.

I will deal more fully with Bacon's *Apophthegms* later on.

I will not deal in detail with the following phrases, parallel sentences, and allusions to *Promus* notes which occur by the score in the *Discoveries*, and which are repeated again and again in Jonson's dramatic and other writings; but those who have digested their Bacon need not be told where to find parallel passages in the work of the master:

What a thin membrane of honour that is. Ease and relaxation are profitable to all studies. The mind is like a bow, the stronger by being unbent. The lopping of trees makes the boughs shoot out thicker; and the taking away of some kind of enemies increaseth the number. They have nothing in their breasts that they need a cipher for. But they, placed high on the top of all virtue, looked down on the stage of the world, and contemned the play of fortune. A good king is a public servant. Old age itself is a disease. They have but saluted her on the by. The first scent of a vessel lasts. But gently stir the mould about the root of the question. The parts of a comedy are the same with a tragedy. Yet we take pleasure in the lie. Like a rich man that, for want of particular note and difference, can bring you no certain ware readily out of his shop. There is a greater reverence had of things remote or strange to us than of much better, if they be nearer, and fall under our sense. They that seek immortality are not only worthy of love, but of praise. Though ambition itself be a vice, it is often the cause of great virtue. But we must not be too frequent with the mint, every day coining, nor fetch words from the extreme and utmost ages. The eldest of the present, and newness of the past language, is the best. For order helps much to perspicuity. Our style should be like a skein of silk, to be carried and found by the right thread, not ravelled and perplexed. Because

he understood the cause of things. Not to imitate servilely, as Horace saith. Groping in the dark. Counsels are made good, or bad, by the events. It is an art to have so much judgment as to apparel a lie well. In short, as vinegar is not accounted good until the wine be corrupted, so jests that are true and natural seldom raise laughter with the beast the multitude.

In his *Apophthegms* Bacon relates how Mr. Mason sent his pupil to another fellow of the same college to borrow a book of him. The reply brought back by the pupil was as follows:—

I am loath to lend my books out of my chamber, but if it please thy tutor to come and read upon it in my chamber, he shall as long as he will.

The time was winter; and some days after the same fellow sent to Mr. Mason to borrow his bellows. Mr. Mason sent back this reply:

I am loth to lend my bellows out of my chamber, but if thy tutor would come and blow the fire in my chamber, he shall as long as he will.

Evidently this story was known to Ben Jonson, whose style is clearly discernible in the following:—

Quicksilver. Marry, dad! his horses are now coming up to bear down his lady; wilt thou lend thy stable to set 'em in?

Security. 'Faith, Master Francis, *I would be loath to lend my stable out of doors*; in a great matter I will pleasure him, but not in this.

"Eastward Ho!" Act II. sc. i.

Eastward Ho! is the joint production of Marston, Jonson, and Chapman; and it is a play that is literally crammed with *Promus* phrases and proverbs, although

Mrs. Pott who examined it, could find none in it. There are none so blind as those who *will not* see.

I am reminded of another of Bacon's *Apophthegms* by a passage in *The New Inn.* Fly, the parasite of the Inn, is a small man, who is humorously compared to several kinds of insects, one of which furnished him with his name. Note the following:—

> *Lord B.* How came you by this property?
> *Host.* Who, my Fly?
> *Lord B.* Your Fly, if you call him so.
> *Host.* Nay, he is that, and will be still.—Act II. sc. ii.

He is a fly, and never will be anything more than a fly. Compare:—

> Sir Thomas More had only daughters at the first, and his wife did ever pray for a boy. At last he had a boy, which after, at man's years, proved simple. Sir Thomas said to his wife, "Thou prayedst so long for a boy, that he will be a boy as long as he lives.
>
> "Apophthegms."

The *Apophthegms* illustrate the following entry in the *Promus*, which Baconians imagine the master did not use:—"No. 1392. A proper young man, and so will he be while he lives." Now, although Mrs. Pott could not find an illustration for the note from Bacon, it goes without saying that she could find several from Shakespeare. Hence we are gravely told that Bacon's idea was to lay stress on the word "proper," which, we are further informed, is strange

phrasing. The joke is as good as that furnished by Dr. Theobald, who is so badly informed as to wish us to believe that the exclamation "What else!" is not current Elizabethan speech. There is a saying, "Ye do not believe because ye have not read." They trifle with us.

Now we come to something interesting, which proves how sadly Baconians are neglecting their real work in the vain and ridiculous attempt to foist the work of Shakespeare on Bacon. The entry in the *Promus*, from a Baconian point of view, and from the scholar's point of view as well, is simply invaluable, for it decisively proves one of the so-called "spurious" *Apophthegms* to be genuine. I could prove that several others are genuine, but must content myself with the one that is related to the saying of Sir Thomas More. Look closely at the *Promus* entry once more, and see how it is exactly repeated in the following:—

The Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by my Lord of Leicester concerning two persons whom the queen seemed to think well of: "By my troth, my lord," said he, "the one is a grave counsellor, the other is *a proper young man; and so he will be as long as he lives.*"

Hence the entry in the *Promus* proves the genuineness of the *Apophthegm*, and the similarity in the sayings shows plainly that the saying of Sir Thomas More was known to Bacon's father as well as to him-

self. We may also conclude that neither of the sayings was a stranger to Ben Jonson.

Another of Bacon's *Apophthegms* is the following:—

Many men, especially such as affect gravity, have a manner after other men's speech to shake their heads. Sir Lionel Cranfield would say, "It was as men shake a bottle, to see if there was any wit in it or no."

Bacon does not wish us to infer that the saying was original to Sir Lionel Cranfield, any more than he meant us to believe that Mr. Bettenham's saying that money, like muck, is best spread abroad, was a new one, or belonged to Mr. Bettenham. But, nevertheless, it may be taken for granted that if either Mrs. Pott or Dr. Theobald could find Shakespeare guilty of writing what follows, we should be inundated with sermons on the subject, and be told that the saying is unique.

In *Every Man in his Humour*, Act IV. sc. i., Master Mathew, a would-be poet, quotes as his own some lines of *Hero and Leander*, when the following dialogue ensues:—

Wellbred. How like you that?

[Master Stephen *shakes his head.*

E. Knowell. 'Slight, he shakes his head like a bottle, to feel an there be any brain in it.

Tradition states that Shakespeare acted the part of the Elder Knowell, who so finely illustrates Sir Lionel

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Cranfield's saying. Hence we have Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Bacon together; for has not Dr. Theobald, who knows Marlowe's work so well, told us that it was written by Bacon?

Sir Lionel Cranfield's saying was much liked by Ben Jonson, who could not help using it twice in this play, and elsewhere. Take another case of its use, which occurs in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*:—

2nd Child. A fifth only shakes his bottle head, and out of his corky brain squeezeth out a pitiful learned face and is silent.

By way of contrast, I will now take one of Dr. Theobald's parallels and show what it is worth. It is one of those posers that are so difficult to answer, and great store is set by it.

In the *De Augmentis*, Book IV. chap. 1., Bacon mentions the case of Anaxarchus, "who, when put to the torture, bit off his tongue and spit it in the tyrant's face." The passage is compared with Shakespeare:—

Boling. Ere my tongue
Shall wound mine honour with such feeble wrong,
Or sound so base a parle, my teeth shall tear
The slavish motive of recanting fear,
And spit it bleeding in his high disgrace,
Where shame doth harbour, even in Mowbray's face.
"Richard II." I. i. 190-5.

Dr. Theobald traces the story to Diogenes Laer-

tius, but says that Bacon's version is taken from Pliny or Valerius Maximus. Note the thunder-like percussion of these names, and tremble, ye Shakespeareans! Yet, as by a kind of antiperistasis, they only bring comfort to the true believer, the simple, but whole-hearted Baconian; and they are as potent to him for good as was the old lady's "Mesopotamia" to her, with "Manka revania dulche," and "Oscorbi dulchos volivorco" into the bargain.

"It is not very likely," says Dr. Theobald,

> that William Shakespeare had read any of the classic authors from which this story might be derived. We cannot suppose that Pliny, Valerius Maximus, or Diogenes Laertius were school-books at Stratford-on-Avon. If Bolingbroke's defiance had taken the form
>
> [List, O list to the Muse!]
> I'll bite my tongue out, ere I use it thus,
>
> it might have been regarded as a casual coincidence. But when he also threatens to spit it in the face of his enemy, we cannot explain it by a clause in the chapter of accidents.

Of course not; the proof that Bacon and Shakespeare are one, and that the story in both was derived from the same source, is as clear as mud. But let us turn to John Lyly once again:—

> Zeno bicause hee would not be enforced against his will by torments, bit off his tongue and spit it in the face of the tyrant.—"Euphues," Arber, p. 146.

That portion of the lost *Ornamenta Rationalia* which Dr. Tenison was able to preserve by a call

on his memory of what it contained, and which consists in part of a small collection of Latin sentences from the *Mimi* of Publius Syrus, includes several sentences which Ben Jonson translates or alludes to in his various writings. I will quote a few cases, but would remark in reference to them that, although they tend to make him come nearer to Bacon in learning than Shakespeare, it is not to be supposed that the same sayings were unknown to other writers of the time, or that they are even rare. I can find them nearly all in John Lyly, and some of them are the originals of very old English proverbs.

Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est.
Male secum agit æger, medicum qui hæredem facit.

Both sayings are referred to in the same scene (Act I. sc. i.) of *The Fox* :—

Mosca. Tut ! forget, sir.
The weeping of an heir should still be laughter
Under a visor.
Mosca. I often have
Heard him protest, that your physician
Should never be his heir.

Multis minatur, qui uni facit injuriam.
Silius. He threatens many that hath injured one.
"Sejanus," Act. II. sc. iv.

And the following, to which I have already made allusion :—

Arcum, intensio frangit ; animum, remissio.

Ease and relaxation are profitable to all studies. The mind is like the bow, the stronger by being unbent.—"Discoveries : Otium," &c.

In the essay of *Truth* Bacon quotes the saying of Montaigne :—

If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man.

Compare :—

Fastidious. A kind of affectionate reverence strikes me with a cold shivering, methinks.

Macilente. I like such tempers well, as stand before their mistresses with fear and trembling; and before their Maker, like impudent mountains.—"Every Man out of his Humour," Act III. sc. iii.

Aristotle's doctrine of antiperistasis occupies a large space in the philosophy of Bacon, who applies it to individuals and states as well as to nature :—

The force of an agent is augmented by the antiperistasis of the counteracting body, is a rule in civil states as in nature, for all faction is vehemently moved and incensed at the rising of a contrary faction. —"De Aug.," Book III. chap. 1.

And he makes this note in the *Promus* :—

In circuitu ambulant impii—honest by antiperistasis.

Many passages from his work could be quoted to show that Bacon's notion of antiperistasis is quite different from the notion that can be extracted from the following, which Mrs. Pott, perhaps jokingly, cites from Shakespeare :—

I'll devise some honest slanders.—"Much Ado," III. i. 84.

Its . . fery honest knaveries.—"Merry Wives," IV. iv. 82-3.

Such parallels are enough to raise spleen in the host of angels. Let us try Ben Jonson:—

Mer. Jove forbid I hinder thee; Marry, all that I fear is Cynthia's presence, which, with the cold of her chastity, casteth such an antiperistasis about the place, that no heat of thine will tarry with the patient.

Cup. It will tarry the rather, for the antiperistasis will keep it in.
"Cynthia's Revels," Act V. sc. iii.

Under entry No. 1443 Bacon notes in the Latin the saying of Horace that fools whilst avoiding faults fall into the opposite extremes. The same saying is quoted by Jonson:—

Cor. This is right to that of Horace, *Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt*; so this gallant, labouring to avoid popularity, falls into a habit of affectation, ten thousand times hatefuller than the former.—"Every Man out of his Humour," Act II. sc. 1.

The Poetaster is a play which ought to bring joy to the ardent, if not discerning Baconian, for it is full of matter which has a direct relation to Bacon's *Promus*; and, singularly enough, it can be made to cast quite a glowing colour of approval over Dr. Theobald's assertion that Bacon wrote all Marlowe's work.

Jonson brings Horace, Ovid, and Virgil on the stage, and he makes them utter many sentences which form the subject of *Promus* notes. And strangely, too, the situations in which he places his characters, and the speeches he puts into their mouths, would

lead one to imagine that Jonson was directed throughout by Bacon.

Horace appears followed by Crispinus, a vain babbler, who pursues him up and down like his ill angel, and threatens many times to recite to the poet some of his own doggerel effusions. Fortunately, Crispinus' memory is so bad that he fails to remember the children of his fancy. Yet Horace cannot get rid of his tormentor, who sticks to him like a burr, and plies him with ridiculous twaddle. In his despair Horace compares his case with that of Bolanus:—

> Happy thou, bold Bolanus, now I say;
> Whose freedom, and impatience of this fellow,
> Would long ere this have call'd him fool, and fool,
> And rank and tedious fool! and have flung jests
> As hard as stones, till thou hadst pelted him
> Out of the place. Act. III. sc. 1.

Here we may say that the threat to recite verses, and the despairing allusion of Horace to Bolanus, are the result of these two *Promus* entries:—

> 1027. Nec sua vesanus scripta poeta legat.
> Ovid, "Ars Am.," ii. 508.
> 1051. O te, Bolane, cerebri
> Felicem! aiebam tacitus.
> Horace, Sat. I. ix. 11-12.

Ovid when he enters is chid by his angry father for neglecting the study of the law for poetry; and in the scene at the end of the play Jonson explains

his purpose in presenting him thus, quoting these two lines to show what a repugnance Ovid had to the profession of the lawyer:—

> Non me verbosas leges ediscere, non me
> Ingrato voces prostituisse foro.

These lines, word for word, form *Promus* No. 440. Bacon could not have used them more neatly than Jonson does.

Again, in the first scene of Act I. Ovid recites his Elegia XV. Book I. Now there is a curious history attaching to the translation of this elegy. In Marlowe's work there are two versions of it, one only slightly differing from the other. Of the three editions of these elegies collated by Dyce the one lettered "A," which from internal evidence appears to be the oldest, does not include the one headed "The same by B. J." which Jonson uses in *The Poetaster*. One translation is merely an improved version of the other, and both must have come from the same pen. Ergo, the rough sketch attributed to Marlowe is Bacon's first attempt to translate Ovid; and the more finished one is the one that he paraded under the name of Ben Jonson, who became Bacon's tool after the death of Marlowe. Nothing could be clearer, the proof is plain, and Dr. Theobald is vindicated.

With regard to Virgil, Jonson makes Tibullus give

utterance to the saying that if all sciences were lost they might be found in Virgil. The same saying is referred to by Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning*, Book I.

Virgil recites a portion of the *Æneid* which particularly describes Fame. Now, both Jonson and Bacon were very fond of referrng to Virgil's description of Fame, and Bacon copies down several lines of it into his *Promus* entries Nos. 1080-82, which are beautifully paraphrased in the *Fragment of an Essay of Fame* and elsewhere.

In the *Masque of Queens* Jonson represents Fame appearing with a trumpet in one hand and an olive branch in the other; "and for her state, it was, as Virgil describes her, at the full, her feet on the ground, and her head in the clouds." And he has these fine lines further on:—

Her [Fame's] house is all of echo made,
  Where never dies the sound;
And as her brow the clouds invade,
  Her feet do strike the ground.

The following is a *Promus* entry:—

1302. The launching of ye Imposthume by him that intended murder.

Baconians linger lovingly over this entry, because Shakespeare, in *Hamlet* (IV. iv. 29), has

> This is the imposthume of much wealth and peace,
> That inward breaks, and shows no cause without
> Why the man dies.

The *Promus* note is perfectly explained in *Euphues*, Arber, p. 330, which shows that it has particular reference to the attempt on the life of Jason:—

> For as he that stroke Jason on the stomacke to kill him, broke his impostume with ye blow, whereby he cured him: so oftentimes it fareth with those that deale malitiously, who in steed of a sword apply a salve, and thinking to be ones Priest, they become his Phisition.

Now, it is quite certain from Lyly that Shakespeare was not referring to the subject of the *Promus* entry; but a further reference to Lyly and others will show that *Hamlet* and other passages in both Shakespeare and Bacon merely repeat a metaphor and phrasing that, strange as it may seem to Baconians to say so, is common in all Elizabethan writings.

In the essay of *Seditions* Bacon says:—

> He that turneth the humours back and maketh the wound bleed inwards endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

Again, in May, 1610, on the *Question of receiving the King's Message*, he says:—

> Take away liberty of Parliament, the griefs of the subject will bleed inwards: sharp and eager humours will not evaporate, and then they must exulcerate, and so may endanger the sovereignty itself.

Baconians imagine the phrase "to bleed inwards" to be one of Bacon's inventions. Now, the idea of

using the metaphor from the imposthume to sedition was not new when Bacon employed it, nor did he invent the phrase to "bleed inwards," as the following will show. It is a quotation by Ben Jonson in his *English Grammar*, and was taken from Sir John Cheek:—

Sedition is an aposteam, which, when it breaketh inwardly, putteth the state in great danger of recovery; and corrupteth the whole commonwealth with the rotten fury, that it hath putrified with.

And Lyly:—

Well, wel, seeing the wound that *bleedeth inwardly* is most dangerous, that fyre kept close burneth most furious, that ye Oven dammed up, baketh soonest, that *sores having no vent fester secretly*, it is hyghe tyme to unfolde my secret love to my secret friend.—"Euphues," Arber, 63.

Ben Jonson can be made to furnish a nearer parallel to the *Promus* than any that have been quoted from Shakespeare:—

Cynthia. Instead of med'cines have we maladies?
And such *imposthumes* as Phantaste is
Grow in our palace? *We must lance these sores,*
Or all will putrify.

"Cynthia's Revels," Act V. sc. iii.

Dr. Theobald claims that his argument is of a cumulative character, that inaccuracies do not in any way impair its general validity. But he begs the whole question. Nobody until recent years ever disputed Shakespeare's right to be considered the

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author of the work that goes under his name, and not one of his contemporaries can be tortured into saying that Bacon ever wrote plays, or that he was ever capable of writing even decent poetry. He tried his prentice hand on a translation of the Psalms, but it is a miserable performance, and reminds one of the saying of Ben Jonson, that "Virgil's felicity left him in prose, as Tully's forsook him in verse." He is a Virgil in prose, but a Tully in verse. Now, seeing that the claim for Bacon is founded entirely on parallels to be found in his writings and those of Shakespeare, it is the business of his followers to prove that their parallels have a distinctive value. Knowing the precarious position they are in, they usher in the evidence with a great blowing of trumpets; they say the phrasing in Bacon and the plays is unique, and that others never use the same or similar images and learning in the same way. But, as a matter of fact, these parallels are mostly dreary commonplaces, and the braying of the trumpets is only the prelude to the fall of the walls of Jericho. If the foundations are not safe, if

> The pillars, that have bolstered up those terms,

rock to and fro at a touch, what becomes of the building—the so-called cumulative argument?

Dr. Theobald has discovered two more wonder-

ful phrases that were invented by Bacon. Be careful of the falling bricks—and the dust. Let me quote:—

Shakespeare's phrase "out of joint," which has passed into current speech, so that its singular and original character is forgotten, is used more than once both in Shakespeare and Bacon.

The variant, "out of frame," is also proved to be singular and original in character by a quotation from *Hamlet*. Now, although Dr. Theobald was able to quote cases of the former phrase from Bacon, he forgot to adduce cases of the use of "out of frame" from his work. These omissions are very interesting. Elsewhere he gives us a list of words that were *coined* by Bacon in Shakespeare; but, again, in most cases he forgets to show us where Bacon uses them in his acknowledged work. Will Dr. Theobald just trouble to get a list of the hundreds of very rare words that are to be found in the real Bacon, and advise us that the same are *not* to be found in Shakespeare? Omissions tell much; but commonplaces, such as those of the Baconians, prove nothing, except the presence of a plague of Egyptian darkness.

"Singular and original in character," forsooth!

To thy correccion now haaste and hie,
For thou haast been *out of joynt* al to longe.

Hoccleve's "Works," anno Domini 1415; Dr. Furnivall's reprint, p. 14.

> The londe he bryngeth *out of frame*
> Agaynst all goddis forbod.
>
> "Rede me and be nott Wrothe," &c., A.D. 1528.

Another phrase of Bacon's invention is "out of tune," which occurs in *Hamlet*, III. i. 167 :—

> Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh.

Dr. Theobald seems to have dropped on this discovery quite accidentally whilst reading the *Novum Organum*. All great discoveries come by accident, and, when found, people wonder that they remained so long hidden. Nobody ever used such phrases before Bacon invented them, nor did any author ever employ any of the 230 words noted by Dr. Theo- as of Bacon's coinage. There are only about thirty of them to be found in *Rede me and be nott Wrothe*, which was written some time after the Flood, and the same little book is so much out of joint that it actually has "out of tune" also :—

> Yet are they so farre out of tune.

The "they" in this line seems to be an interpolation, indicating Bacon's own opinion of the authors of the book.

Under *Promus* No. 708 Bacon refers to the saying that men who have great responsibilities are like porters who carry a load on each shoulder, and another on the top of their head. The note is alluded to in

the essay of *Great Place*, and Jonson also makes use of it :—

> *Cicero.* Great honours are great burdens, but on whom
> They are cast with envy, he doth bear two loads.
>
> "Catiline," Act III. sc. i.

Mrs. Pott illustrates the note with a quotation from *Henry VIII.*, which she adduces once more under *Promus* No. 1110, "Not an honour, but a burden." Needless to say, the Shakespeare passage has no right to appear under No. 708.

Dr. Theobald devotes a chapter of his book to *Mines and Forges*, and quotes the saying of Democritus that truth is concealed in deep mines and caves. This saying, which occurs in Laertius, *Life of Seneca*, is referred to by Bacon no fewer than fifteen times, and it is thus noted in the *Promus*, No. 1395 :—

> Pyonner in the myne of truth.

Dr. Theobald quotes from Shakespeare and Bacon, but his parallels only prove that the poet was acquainted with the fact that there are mines in the earth, and that it is possible for a literary man to make them furnish him with illustrations and figures to adorn his writings. The idea is as old as Tubal Cain, and it has been battered out of shape any number of times since Adam delved into the apple to get at the pips, and found truth "within the centre"—

with a vengeance! Shakespeare never parallels Bacon properly, but Jonson does:—

> Such knowledge as is digged out of the hard mine of history and experience.—"Filium Labyrinthi."
>
> A true pioner in that mine of truth which (he said) lay so deep.—Letter to Burghley, 1592.

In his *Underwoods*, in the poem on Sir John Beaumont, Jonson speaks of "creeping common pioners" that "sweat to fortify a Muse"; and in No. 31 of the same collection of verses he has:—

> He can approve
> And estimate thy pains, as having wrought
> In the same mines of knowledge.

The saying is also alluded to by Lady Haughty in *The Silent Woman*, Act IV. sc. ii.

Promus, No. 60, is a verse from Horace, Epistle II. i. 14:—

> Extinctus amabitur idem,

and this entry is closely related to No. 69, of uncertain authorship:—

> Nemo virtuti invidiam reconciliaverit præter mortem.

Indeed, the relationship between the two entries is established by Horace himself, in the same Epistle, ll. 10-2, where he says that "he who crushed the direful hydra, and subdued well-known monsters with fated labour, found envy to be conquered only at his latter end."

Baconians apparently do not know that No. 69 forms part of the Antitheta of *Envy*, that Bacon again refers to it in the *De Aug.*, Book VIII. ch. viii., and that the sentiment itself is extremely common in both contemporary and earlier writers. And, of course, we may assume that the verse suggested to Bacon the masque which he wrote under Jonson's name, *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*. In the first *Essay of Death* No. 60 is brought in thus:—

Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

In Jonson's supposed work the two entries are closely paralleled several times; and in one place we find a repetition of Bacon's own phrasing, which Gabriel Harvey would dub "as new as Newgate," but which is really much older:—

Cen. It will open the gate to your fame.
"The Silent Woman," IV. ii.

No. 123 is an innocent-looking phrase from Psalm cxlvii. 16:—

Qui dat nivem sicut lanam.

Yet it is a trap for the unwary Baconian who has forgotten to read Bacon. It reminds one of the musty proverb of trying to play *Hamlet* without Hamlet. Judge. Mrs. Pott quotes from Shakespeare as follows:—

His shroud as the mountain snow.
"Hamlet," IV. v. 36.

[where Shakespeare says

White his shroud as the mountain snow].

When snow the pasture sheets.
"Ant. and Cleop.," I. iv. 65.

When one turns from a Baconian to Bacon one must be prepared to shed bitter tears:—

Snow hath in it a secret warmth; as the monk proved out of the text: *Qui dat nivem sicut lanam, gelu sicut cineres spargit.* Whereby he did infer, that snow did warm like wool, and frost did fret like ashes.—"Natural History," Century viii. No. 788.

The saying is again alluded to in Century vi.

That "snow hath in it a secret warmth" is a notion that reminds one of two other *Promus* notes:—

No. 1366. Boreæ penetrabile.
No. 1367. Frigus adurit.

These notes together form part of line 93 of the first book of Virgil's *Georgics*, and they appear thus in the *Novum Organum*:—

Even a severe and intense cold produces a sensation of burning: *Nec Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurit.*—Book II. Aph. xi. 27.

Baconians are always able to illustrate Bacon by passages from Shakespeare; they are as ready with parallels as a borrower is with his cap; hence four quotations appear from the plays, which give us to understand that the wind, from whatever quarter it comes, is apt to blow very cold. We do not now

dispute the accuracy of the observation, yet nobody had recorded it previous to Bacon, who, as Mrs. Pott has told us in her book, is almost alone in noting that age causes even the Hyperion curl to change from gold to silver. Philosophy may not cure the toothache, but it puts many things into one's head, bees amongst the number. And since Bacon's time small boys and others have taken to playing with snow, and to the congenial pastime of pelting Robert with snowballs—and solely because of Bacon's discovery that "snow hath in it a secret warmth."

Bacon had some curious notions respecting the nature of heat and cold, to which he gives much prominence in the *Novum Organum*, and in his *Sylva Sylvarum* or *Natural History*; but he rigidly excludes them from the plays and poems of Shakespeare. He tells us that flame does not mingle with flame, as air does with air, or water with water, but remains contiguous; that one flame within another quencheth not; and much more that is curious, if not contrary to the teachings of modern science. And in the *Promus*, No. 889, he notes down the antediluvian proverb that nail drives out nail. Now, in *Coriolanus*, and again in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the proverb is quoted and bracketed with the kindred saying that fire drives out fire. The notion that fire drives

out fire finds expression several times in Shakespeare, and it is a maxim in the Baconian philosophy. *Ergo*, Bacon wrote Shakespeare.

It is true that Bacon does not anywhere in all his work couple the nail proverb with its perhaps more ancient brother-saying, but that does not matter. It is coupled so in Shakespeare, and that fact squares the circle, and proves the origin of the passages in the plays.

Here we may observe that the lines in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* are imitated from *Romeus and Juliet*, the foundation-stone of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, a poem written by one Arthur Brooke in or about 1562, when Bacon and Shakespeare were just out of their swaddling-clothes.

Chapman, in his *Monsieur D'Olive*, V. i. 5-13, illustrates Bacon's original notion admirably; and John Lyly expounds it in orthodox fashion twice in *Euphues*. Many other writers of the time do likewise; but if anybody wishes to find other parallels to the passage outside Shakespeare, he will be wise if he avoids Bacon, who has nothing like it in all his work, except such sayings as that which we find in *Henry VII.*, where he writes that the citizens, finding the the gates to be set on fire by the enemy, "repulsed fire with fire."

Dr. Theobald records many instances of parallel phrases in Bacon and Shakespeare, and in one or two cases he qualifies them with remarks to the effect that such phrases are *sometimes* to be met with in other writers of the time. Consequently, we may assume that the absence of qualifying remarks is an indication that the phrases are new and of Bacon's coinage.

Starting holes.—This phrase is said to be a curious one, and a passage in 1 *Henry IV.* which contains it is quoted. Of course, Bacon uses it.

Two instances at least occur in Jonson: one in *The Case is Altered*, and the other in the *Discoveries*; *De Bonis et Malis.* It is a very common expression, and Peele used it in the earliest known draft of his *Edward I.*, but struck it out when revising his play, perhaps because it had been battered about so much by others. See Dyce's *Peele*, p. 415, col. 1. Greene often uses it, and it occurs in Gascoigne's *Voyage into Holland*, 1572. But we need not be surprised that such parallels are adduced, for the same writer gravely informs us that "play prizes" is another "curious expression," and that Bacon coined the phrase "gross and palpable"!

To put tricks upon.—Another choice phrase from the Bacon mint. And yet Dr. Theobald does not

see that his claim for Bacon is refuted by Bacon in the very passage that he quotes:—

Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as *we* now say) putting tricks upon them, &c.—Essay of "Cunning."

Dr. Theobald might have added that this phrase is met with again in the *Spurious Apophthegms*, No. 16:—

Two scholars and a countryman, travelling upon the road, one night lodged all in one inn and supped together, where the scholars thought to have put a trick upon the countryman, &c.

However, the phrase is to be found in Ben Jonson several times. It occurs in *Every Man in his Humour*; twice in *Catiline*; in *The New Inn*; and again in *Bartholomew Fair*. Yet Dr. Theobald is so confident of the Baconian origin of the phrase, and of the time at which it was minted, that he adduces it as a piece of evidence in regard to the dates of two of Shakespeare's plays which use it:—

As neither of these plays [*The Tempest* and *All's Well*] were [*sic*] known till 1623, there is no reason for giving the phrase an earlier date than the Essay [1612].

Now Jonson uses the expression in both versions of his *Every Man in his Humour*, and therefore it was current as early as 1596.

Discourse of reason.—When this phrase is mentioned to a Baconian, he removes his hat and bows his body. It is such a "profound philosophical expression"; and has not Theobald—the great Theobald—traced

it to Homer? Of course, it originated with Bacon. Nevertheless, Prof. Dowden in his paper *Shakespeare as a Man of Science*, printed in the *National Review* last July, has shown that the phrase occurs in Caxton, in Sir Thomas More, in Eden, in Holland's translation of Plutarch's *Morals*, and at least four times in Florio's translation of Montaigne. Here is another case:—

How they [the Romans] could have sped well in undertaking such a match: it is uneasy to find in discourse of human reason.—Sir Walter Raleigh's "History of the World"; Arber, "English Garner," vol. i. p. 67.

Dr. Theobald remarks that

one rather frequent mode of expression with Bacon is to say of some attribute or quality that it lies *in* the object to which it addresses itself, and does not exist for its own sake.

And he cites the following as an example:—

So that it is said of untrue valours that some men's valours are in the eyes of them that look on, so such men's industries [*i.e.*, other than learning] are in the eyes of others, or at least in regard of their own designments.—"Advancement of Learning," Book I.

Bacon's expression "it is said" shows conclusively that he was using a common form of speech; and, as a matter of fact, he could not help employing it in the connexion he does. The saying concerning *valour* and *lookers-on* was proverbial, and Bacon tells us so in a passage the whole of which Mr. Theobald has forgotten to quote:—

> Of valour I speak not; take it from the witnesses that have been produced before: yet, *the old observation* is not untrue, that the Spaniard's valour lieth in the eye of the looker-on; but the English valour lieth about the soldier's heart.—"Of a War with Spain."

Four passages are quoted from Shakespeare to show that he uses the form "lies in," but the only one that is worth noticing is the following:—

> A jest's prosperity lies in the ear
> Of him that hears it; never in the tongue
> Of him that makes it.
>
> "Love's Labour Lost," V. ii. 869-71.

Let us try Jonson:—

> *Lord B.* But the ignorant valour,
> That knows not why it undertakes, but doth it
> To escape the infamy merely—
> *Lovel.* Is worst of all:
> That valour lies in the eyes o' the lookers-on,
> And is called valour with a witness.
>
> "The New Inn," IV. iii.

Dr. Theobald makes the point that both Shakespeare and Bacon call Ulysses "sly"; but others do the same, including Ben Jonson:—

> As by Polypheme
> The sly Ulysses stole in a sheep-skin.
>
> "Epigrams," No. 123.

And he also thinks it notable that they should agree in connecting the word "sleight" with the same personage. "False Ulysses' sleight" is a phrase in Surrey's translation of the *Æneid*; and in the first

scene of *The New Inn* we find Jonson speaking of "sage Nestor's counsels, and Ulysses' sleights."

In the first *Parnassus* play, which Dr. Theobald says "is clearly of Shakespearean origin,"—that is by Bacon—there occurs the phrase "devours the way." This phrase, supposed to be derived direct from Catullus, is also in Ben Jonson :—

> They greedily devour the way
> To some great sports.
>
> "Sejanus," V. x.

Bacon's references to quicksilver, we are told, are "very curious," and, moreover, his "curious scientific notions" are said to be clearly reflected in the only two passages in Shakespeare where quicksilver is mentioned. Falstaff says, "The rogue fled from me like quicksilver." There's a scientific notion for you! In *Hamlet* the reference is to "a motion of antipathy producing an effect like the mortification of quicksilver."

Ben Jonson's references to quicksilver are numerous enough to afford matter for a lengthy essay, and they are nothing if not scientific and philosophical in expression. But here is a passage from *Pappe with an Hatchet*, a tract issued anonymously during "The Martin Mar-prelate Controversy," in which Bacon took an active part, which clearly proves that the tract and *Hamlet* are from the same hand :—

No, it is you poore Johns, that with your painted consciences have coloured the religion of divers, spreading through the veynes of the Commonwealth like poyson, the doggednes of your devotions; which entring in like the smoothnes of oyle into the flesh, fretteth in time like quicksilver into the bones.

Because the tract repeats over and over again the pet phrases and proverbs of John Lyly, and because its general style bears more than a passing resemblance to that author's, critics have assigned it to Lyly. Other circumstances seem to lend colour to the correctness of the attribution. But how easily the best men may err! "Things that seem are not the same" (see Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, Dyce, p. 447, col. 2). The real author is Francis Bacon. If further proof be required, a comparison of the pamphlet with Bacon's known work will yield evidence in his favour in abundance. For instance, *Promus*, No. 909, is "The crowe of the belfry"; and No. 536 reads "Allow no swallow under thy roof." *Pappe with an Hatchet* dilates on both proverbs, and shows that they have a common reference to busy, malevolent persons, who spread slanders, and, like the chattering birds of the fables, leave nothing but filth in the places that gave them a kindly shelter. There are many allusions to the same proverbs in Ben Jonson. Again, the tract quotes the Latin sentence: "Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos." This sentence

is from the *Æneid*, vi. 620, and Bacon notes it either fully or in part three times in his *Promus*, Nos. 58, 436, 1092. It is a significant circumstance that although Bacon, as shown by his repetitions, attached importance to the quotation from Virgil, no instance of its use has been discovered in his known works. He seems to have reserved it exclusively for *Pappe with an Hatchet*. The tract also refers to the extraordinary Baconian saying that the sun may enter any bad place without being defiled thereby; and it finds a place for the highly philosophical expression, which Bacon is known to have coined many ages previously, that a fool's bolt is soon shot.

Dr. Theobald observes that some of Bacon's applications of the epithet "sweet" are worth study. It is noted that "sweetness, sugar, and honey, are applied to speech in Shakespeare." One need no longer be puzzled to know why his contemporaries styled Shakespeare "sweet Shakespeare," "honey-tongued Shakespeare." They were really complimenting Bacon on his having imported into the domain of poetry those mellifluous epithets which have since enabled votaries of the Muse to extend their flights even up to the regions of pure fire; and these epithets as applied to his mask are after all but delicate and flattering reminders of their acknowledg-

ments of indebtedness to their illustrious author—Bacon.

But Dr. Theobald has omitted to include in his examples one use of the word "sweet," which has a peculiarly perverse sense, and which is explained many times over in the pages of Ben Jonson.

Bacon's inquiries into the question of odours are most interesting. In *The Natural History* he refers to the ancient observation that where a rainbow seems to hang over or to touch the earth, thence arise sweet perfumes, which are more fragrant and pleasing than those odours which arise when the earth is wetted with soft showers of rain. The cause of the odours, he explains, is not in the rainbow or in the shower, but in the earth itself, which contains certain matter requiring only moisture from the atmosphere to make it break forth into sweetness.

The above enables us to comprehend the extraordinary figure of speech employed by Almanac in *The Staple of News*, IV. i., where he declares that Pecunia's breath is "as sweet as meadows after rain."

In some way or other Bacon's inquiries seem to be related to the following entry in the *Promus*, No. 702:—

A sweete dampe (a dislike of moist perfume).

For a perfect explanation of this ambiguous entry we

must go to Jonson again, who dwells upon the subject of odours *ad nauseam* in many places, but especially in *Epigram* No. 123, *On the Famous Voyage.*

A heated discussion on odours takes place in *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii., the argument being conducted strictly in accord with the inductive process of reasoning, which forms such a remarkable feature in the Baconian system of philosophy. Finally, the conclusion is reached that all vapours, even sweet vapours or moist perfumes, "shtinck." Again, in Act II. of *Every Man out of his Humour*, Deliro, the fond husband, strews flowers and censes perfumes to please his perverse consort, who complained of evil smells in and about the house. But nothing will please Fallace, who greets Deliro's efforts with the remark,

Here's a *sweet* stink indeed!

These and other passages in Jonson explain the *Promus* phrase "a sweete dampe," and they give reasons why some persons have a dislike of moist perfumes. As Dr. Theobald observes, some of Bacon's applications of the epithet "sweet" are worth study.

We are gravely informed that the fancy that the two eyes may wear different expressions or be differently employed is common to Bacon and Shakespeare. But it is an old, old saying, expressed in a great variety of ways. Jonson has it:—

> *Karol.* Why do you so survey and circumscribe me,
> As if you struck one eye into my breast,
> And with the other took my whole dimensions?
> "The Sad Shepherd," Act III.

The saying is put in a very funny way in *Two Wise Men and all the Rest Fools*, a play attributed to George Chapman; but as Chapman became one of Bacon's masks after the death of Marlowe, I forbear to quote the passage. Bacon may be the author of the play, as he undoubtedly was the continuator of *Hero and Leander*.

That one man's folly or imperfection is but another man's fable is proverbial, and as good examples of the saying can be found in Jonson's *The Fox*, *The Staple of News*, and other plays by the same author as have been adduced from Shakespeare.

The following contains a *Promus* proverb which Bacon does not use, nor is it alluded to in Shakespeare. It is rarely referred to by Elizabethan writers:—

> *Dauphine.* How now, Cutbeard! succeeds it, or no?
> *Cut.* Past imagination, sir, *omnia secunda*; you could not have pray'd to have had it so well. *Saltat senex*, as it is in the proverb.
> "The Silent Woman," II. iv.

On the other hand, Shakespeare will sometimes make use of a saying in the *Promus* which is rarely used in the same form by others of the time; but Baconians do not always discover these parallels. For instance, in the folio version of 2 *Henry VI.*, II. i. 24,

Gloster asks, "Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?" This saying forms entry No. 391 of the *Promus*, and is taken from the *Æneid*, i. 11. Peele quotes it in his *Speeches to Queen Elizabeth*, and it is to be found translated many times in writings of the period, especially in Edmund Spenser, who was fond of it, and in John Lyly. But there is nothing strange about such coincidences, for all writers whom I have read furnish similar material; and for every such case from Shakespeare hundreds could be brought from John Lyly and Ben Jonson.

I do not think, after what I have said, that any good end would be served in pursuing this argument any further. Originally, it was my intention to have confined myself almost entirely to an examination of Mrs. Pott's work on Bacon's *Promus*; but after I had written the first pages of this essay, Dr. Theobald sent me a copy of his *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, and he challenged me to reply to it. In effect, he said, "here is the latest presentment of our case, reply to that." He was so confident, so cock-sure that his book would over-awe me that I felt nettled at his challenge, and at once began to prepare a reply to such parts of it as he set great store by. I leave readers of these articles to judge for themselves whether or not Dr. Theobald is a critic whose judgment and knowledge of Elizabethan and

Jacobean literature is worthy of acceptance. It may be that I did wrong in turning aside from Mrs. Pott to Dr. Theobald, and that if I had continued to my first purpose I should have made a more solid contribution towards the settlement of this question of Bacon *versus* Shakespeare. However that may be, I claim that I have proved,

The Bacon-Shakespeare Question.

1st. That Baconians are not sufficiently acquainted with the acknowledged writing of their master or of contemporary authors to be fit judges in cases of this kind.

2nd. That Bacon *did* use his *Promus* notes in his known works, and that they are *not* employed in the same way in Shakespeare.

3rd. That the notes are commonplaces, to be found in all Elizabethan and Jacobean writers.

4th. That Ben Jonson approaches more nearly to Bacon in his use of the notes than Shakespeare does.

5th. That Shakespeare was not a good scholar as Bacon and Jonson were, and that he could and did obtain much of his knowledge of classical authors from translations or from the writings of men who wrote in his mother tongue.

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